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THE

SOCIAL CONDITION

AND

EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE

IN

ENGLAND AND EUROPE;

SHEWING

THE RESULTS OF THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS,
AND OF THE DIVISION OF LANDED PROPERTY, IN
FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

BY

JOSEPH KAY, ESQ. M.A.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
BARRISTER-AT-LAW;
AND LATE TRAVELLING BACHELOR OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF CAMBRIDGE.

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"The best way to help the Poor is to enable them to help themselves."
"The object of all Government should be the happiness of the *majority* of the people."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.
1850.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.,

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY,

&c. &c.

My Lord,

When you addressed the Electors of the City of London, upon assuming, at the command of Her Majesty, the office of First Minister of the Executive Government, you announced, that the Administration, over which you were called to preside, would apply itself to the amelioration of the social condition of the people.

Your Lordship's Government has sought to fulfil this great promise, on the one hand, by the reduction of the public burthens, by the removal of commercial restrictions, and by the consequent diminution of the price of the necessaries of life; and, on the other hand, by the diminution of the hours of labour, by the improvement of the sanitary regulations of the towns,

by the institution of local courts and cheaper forms of legal procedure, and by the decisive indications, which have been given, that the power of the Government will be zealously applied to the creation of a comprehensive and efficient system of National Education.

These measures have spread, among large classes of the operative population, a confidence in the disposition of the Executive Government to promote their well-being, which I trust a further development of the same policy may tend to increase. In the belief, that your Lordship's Government will persevere in the introduction of progressive measures for the improvement of the social condition of the nation, and as a slight indication of the respect and gratitude with which, in common with so many of my countrymen, I have witnessed your Lordship's unwearied, enlightened, and disinterested efforts to promote the happiness and prosperity of the poorer classes of this country, I venture to dedicate this work to your Lordship.

I remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's very obedient Servant,

JOSEPH KAY.

3. Churchyard Court, Inner Temple, London,
March 1. 1850.

PREFACE.

I CANNOT commit this work to the press without expressing the sincere gratitude I feel to the under-mentioned gentlemen, all of whom have aided me in my inquiries abroad. Many of them spent several days, and some of them several weeks, in accompanying me in my examination of their schools and colleges, and in explaining to me the organisation of the different European systems of National Education, the modes of educating and supporting the teachers, the methods of instruction pursued in the schools, and the effects of the daily education given to the children of the poorer classes, upon the social condition of the people.

Poor and unworthy as this return is, for the kindness which these gentlemen have shown me, I hope I may be allowed to preface this work by at least acknowledging, how much I am indebted for the assistance given me by —

His Excellency the Chevalier BUNSEN, the Ambassador of Prussia;

Dr. EICHHORN, late Minister of Public Instruction in Prussia;

M. SALVANDY, late Minister of Public Instruction in France;

The Minister of the Interior in the kingdom of Saxony;

The late Minister of the Interior in the kingdom of Bavaria;

The Minister of the Interior in the kingdom of Wirtemberg;

The late President of the Diet of Switzerland;

The Minister of Public Instruction in the canton of Berne;

The Director of the Normal College at Versailles;

The Principal of the central College of the Frères Chrétiens of France;

Dr. DIESTERWEG, late Director of the Normal College at Berlin;

Professor FREDERIC VON RAÜMER, of Berlin;

The Director of the Normal College at Potsdam;

Dr. HENNICKE, the Director of the Normal College at Weissenfels;

The Professors of the Normal College at Weissenfels;

Professor OTTO, Director of the Normal College at Dresden;

The Director of the Normal College at Vienna;

The Director of the Normal College at Carlsruhe;

M. GAUTHEY, late Director of the Normal Colleges at Lausanne;

M. VEHRLI, Director of the Normal College at Kreuitzlingen;

The Professors of the Normal College of Zurich;

The Director of the Normal College of Solleure;

The Director of the Normal College near Hofwyl;

The Professors of the College at Argau;

The Directors of the Normal Colleges of St. Gall;

M. DE FELLENBERG, Principal of the Great Schools at Hofwyl;

The Directors of the Schools in Lucerne;
The Director of the Schools at Vevay;
The Director of the Schools of the canton of Zug;
Le Père Girard, of Fribourg;
Le Chanoine Gottro, of Fribourg;
Counsellor Stiehl, the Inspector General of Prussia;
Dr. Dieterici, Chief of the Statistical Bureau in Berlin;
Dr. Bruggeman, Member of the Council of Education in Berlin;
Professor Hintz, of Berlin;
Dr. Pertz, King's Librarian at Berlin;
Dr. Julius, of Hamburg;
The Teachers of the great Primary Schools in Berlin;
The Teachers of the Primary Schools in Dusseldorf, Elberfeld, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Bonn, and Weissenfels;
The Teachers of the Primary Schools of Dresden and Munich;
Herr Peters, of Bonn;
Herr Lohrer, of Carlsruhe;
The Teachers in the Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg;
The Professor of Music in the Normal College of Brühl, in Prussia;
The Teachers of the Primary Schools at the Hague;
The Director of the Pauper Colony in the North of Holland;
The Teachers in the Schools connected with this Colony;
The Director of the Institution for the Education of Protestant Nurses, and of the Primary Schools, near Dusseldorf.

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In 1844 the Senate of the University of Cambridge honoured me by appointing me Travelling Bachelor of the University, and by commissioning me to travel through Western Europe in order to examine the social condition of the poorer classes of the different countries.

During the last eight years I have travelled through Prussia, Saxony, the Austrian Empire, Bavaria, Wirtemburg, the Duchy of Baden, Hanover, Oldenburg, Lombardy, Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Holland, as well as through England, Wales, and parts of Scotland and Ireland. I undertook the greater part of these journeys in order to examine the comparative conditions of the peasants and operatives in these several countries, the different modes of legislating for them, and the effects of these different modes of legislation upon their character, habits, and social condition.

I have ventured to believe that it will not be wholly uninteresting or unprofitable to some of my own countrymen, if I publish some of the information I collected during my different tours through Europe.

It is important that we should make ourselves acquainted, as far as possible, with the state of the poorer classes in the countries of Western Europe; for there is much to learn from the results of the systems of legislation pursued by their governments and people.

We are much too apt to look down upon foreign nations, and to imagine that all our institutions are superior to theirs, and that each class of our people is more prosperous and happy than the corresponding class of any foreign country.

English noblemen and English merchants visit foreign lands, and find, that there is no other country on the face of the globe, where the aristocracy and the merchants are so wealthy, where their houses are so luxurious, where the elegances, comforts, and conveniences of life are so numerous, or where the position

of the *rich man* is so enviable as in England. They see no ports and harbours so crowded with shipping, and no cities so thronged with equipages and commerce, as those of England; no palaces and country-houses so luxurious, no magazines so vast, and no shops so well stocked as those of England; no metropolis so wonderful or so wealthy, and no provincial towns so flourishing and prosperous as the metropolis and provincial cities of England; and, in a word, no exhibition of vast territorial or commercial wealth comparable to that which they have been accustomed to look upon in England.

If the object of Government is to create an enormously wealthy class, and to raise to the highest point the civilization of about one-fifth of the nation, while it leaves nearly three-fifths of the nation sunk in the lowest depths of ignorance, hopelessness, and degradation, then the system hitherto pursued in Great Britain is perfect; for the classes of our aristocracy, our landed gentry, our merchants, manufacturers, and richer tradespeople, are wealthier, more refined in their tastes, more active and enterprising, more intelligent, and, consequently, more prosperous than the corresponding classes of any other country in the world.

But, if we have enormous wealth, we ought to remember that we have enormous pauperism also; if we have middle classes richer and more intelligent than those of any other country in the world, we have poor classes, *forming the majority of the people of this country*, more ignorant, more pauperised, and more morally degraded than the poorer classes of most of the

countries of Western Europe. And here it is where Englishmen might well afford sometimes to forget their pride in their own country, and to learn a lesson from other lands.

It is this side of the foreign picture which I propose in this work to describe: not that I forget wherein our country is first among the nations, but because I remember wherein other countries have outstripped us; and because I believe more good is done by exposing our negligence, and by examining the grounds of our prejudices, than by idly flattering ourselves that we have done all that we can, and that the results are fully satisfactory.

I do not hesitate, then, to affirm, — and the proof of this affirmation I shall immediately show, — that the moral, intellectual, and social condition of the peasants and operatives of those parts of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and France, where the poor have been educated, where the land has been released from the feudal laws, and where the peasants have been enabled to acquire, is very much higher, happier, and more satisfactory than that of the peasants and operatives of England; and that, while these latter are struggling in the deepest ignorance, pauperism, and moral degradation, the former are steadily and progressively attaining a condition, both socially and politically considered, of a higher, happier, and more hopeful character.

I think it will appear from the following pages, that the remarkable improvement which has been witnessed in the condition of a great part of the German and Swiss poor since 1800, has been the result of two causes; viz. —

1st. The admirable and long-continued education given to *all* the children; and,

2d. The division of the land among the peasants.

The examination of foreign countries, and of history, clearly shows, that the moral, intellectual, and physical condition of *any* people, no matter what their race, is almost entirely the result of the laws and institutions under which they live; and that this condition is capable of indefinite improvement, by an improvement of those laws and institutions.

There is no better, or more remarkable illustration of the truth of this remark, nor any which is more frequently quoted in foreign countries, than the difference between the character and habits of Irishmen in their own land, and their character and habits in the United States, in the British Colonies, and in the British army.

In his own country, exposed to the wretched under-lessee system, and under-agent system of Ireland; to the discontented spirit of a priesthood, which we have treated as if we desired to render it inimical to our government; to the galling sense of foreign rule, suggested by the presence of English soldiers; and to the irritating thought that his rent goes to aggrandise the splendour of a distant capital, and that the hall of his landlord is deserted, the Irishman becomes discontented, idle, rebellious, and criminal. Send him to Australia, to the States, or to any English colony, where he can make himself, by industry, a proprietor of land, and where he is not shackled by middle-age legislation, and he becomes immediately the most energetic and conservative of colonists. He there acquires faster than any one

else; he effects more in a day than any one else; he is more untiring in his perseverance than any one else; and he forces his rulers to write home to England, — as the Governor of South Australia did but a few years ago, — that the Irish are the most enterprising, successful, and orderly of all the colonists of those distant lands. Put the Irishman in the English army, or in the manufacturing districts of England, and similar results invariably follow. In the army he makes a first-rate soldier, while in Lancashire, where he is sure to earn as much as his day's labour is worth, where the galling misgovernment of his own country does not affect him, where he enjoys his property securely, and where he is put on a level with the English labourer, he at once becomes a formidable rival of the Englishman under every respect, and one of the most successful of the operatives. On the railway works of England, the same result is visible, all showing that, as far as the Irish are concerned, they might be made, and would certainly become, the best of citizens, if they only had the best of institutions under which to live.

But the truth of the position, that the character of a people depends almost entirely upon the character of the political and social institutions under which they live, is still more remarkably demonstrated in Germany and Switzerland. The people of the Romanist cantons of Switzerland have not been nearly so well educated as the people of the Protestant cantons; the schools are not so numerous or so good in the former as they are in the latter. The teachers of the former cantons have not been nearly so carefully and liberally trained

as the teachers of the latter. The Roman church dispenses a much greater quantity of alms to beggars in the former, than the Protestant church does in the latter cantons; and the consequence is, that the peasants of the Romanist cantons are much more superstitious, much less intelligent, and have much less independence of mind, than the peasants of the Protestant cantons.

The result of these different systems of treating the poor has been just what might have been expected. No one, who travels through Switzerland, with his eyes open, can fail to notice the very different appearance of the people in the Romanist and in the Protestant cantons. In most of the former, beggars are very numerous, the peasants are poorly dressed, many of the children are dirty and ragged, many of the farms are negligently cultivated, and the general appearance of the people shows them to be dull, feeble, and dependant. In the Protestant cantons, on the other hand, where, as I shall afterwards show, all the people are most carefully and liberally educated, where begging is forbidden by the laws, and where the church does not dispense nearly so much indiscriminate alms and ill-judged relief, few or no beggars are to be seen; the people are well dressed and very respectable in appearance; the children are always clean, neat, and intelligent in their expressions and manners; the little properties are beautifully tilled; the houses are very clean, roomy, well-furnished, comfortable, and in good order; and the whole look of the peasants is that of an active, thriving, and contented people. I have often heard travellers remark upon the surprising difference between the ap-

pearance of the peasants of the Protestant cantons of Berne, Vaud, Geneva, Thurgovie, Zurick, and Neuchatel, and that of the peasants of the Romanist cantons of Friburg, Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwalden; yet the inhabitants of many of these cantons, the social conditions of whose people differ the most, are people of the same race, — they speak the same language, they live in the same climate, and amid the same scenes, and they intermix much with each other. Whence then arises this singular difference in their condition? It arises solely from the difference in their political and social institutions and habits.

In Germany the same truth stares us in the face. Saxony and Bohemia lie side by side. The majority of the people of these two countries speak the same language, profess the same religion, and belong to the same race; but the condition of the peasants of the two countries is as different as can well be imagined.

In Saxony, which I have visited and carefully inspected twice, there is very little pauperism; the people are well and comfortably clad—ragged or badly patched clothes are seldom, I might truly say, never seen; beggars are hardly ever met with; the houses of the peasantry are remarkably large, high, roomy, convenient, substantially built, constantly whitewashed, and orderly in appearance; the children are always clean, well dressed, and very polite in their manners; there is little or no difference between the appearance of the children of the poor and of the rich; the land is perhaps better cultivated than in any other part of Europe; and the general condition of the peasantry

more prosperous than that of any other I have seen, except it be that of the peasantry of the cantons of Berne, Vaud, and Neuchatel in Switzerland, or of the Rhine Provinces of Prussia.

In Bohemia, on the other hand, a totally different spectacle presents itself, and one which cannot fail to strike any intelligent traveller with astonishment. The moment he has crossed the Saxon frontiers, the traveller finds himself surrounded by crowds of beggars of the most miserable appearance, who strongly remind him of the sight which meets his eyes in Ireland; while even those peasants, who do not beg, are very poorly dressed, wear no shoes or stockings, and often appear in rags. The cottages are very small and wretched; the villages are generally only collections of the most miserable wooden cabins of one story in height, and crowded together as closely as possible; and the land itself is only half cultivated, and presents about the same contrast to Saxony, as Ireland does to England.

But what is the cause of this difference? It is easily explained. In Saxony the people are admirably educated by teachers of great erudition and practical good sense, who have been for many years past engaged in awakening and directing the intelligence of the children, and in teaching them to think. In Bohemia, although there are plenty of schools, the instruction given in them is much inferior to that given in the Saxon schools, and is planned so as to make the people good subjects; while that of Saxony is planned so as to make the Saxon peasants intelligent citizens. In Saxony the land is divided among the peasants, the entail laws

having been repealed, so that the peasants feel strongly interested in the cultivation of their little properties, and study how to make them as productive as possible. In Bohemia the land is divided among great nobles, who leave their estates in the hands of agents, and carry off all their rents to spend them in the distant metropolis of Vienna. The peasants of Bohemia, therefore, like the peasants of Ireland, feel no interest in the soil or in its proper cultivation, as they derive no benefit from it, and as they are deprived of any chance of acquiring land, and of raising themselves in the social scale; while those, who can think at all, are exasperated by seeing the fruits of their labour and of their country spent among strangers at Vienna.

I travelled through one part of Bohemia with a Saxon. He pointed out the beggars to me, and the poor dress of the peasants, and said, with pride, "You will not see such sights in my country, Sir. Our peasants are owners of their own little estates, and have been steadily improving in their social condition ever since we repealed our entail laws and allowed the land to be subdivided among them, and ever since we began to educate the children as we now educate them. Our people are all well educated, have got libraries in their villages, and are contented, because they are intelligent and know that their success in life depends upon their own exertions, and that there is nothing to prevent their succeeding if they are only prudent. But these poor Bohemians have no strong stimulus to be prudent and industrious, for they have no interest in the soil: they are the serfs of the great lords at Vienna."

It seemed to me that there was some similarity between the cases of the Bohemian and the Irish peasantry.

I travelled through another part of Bohemia, in company with a very intelligent Prussian landlord, with whom I had a great deal of conversation. He said to me, "What a strange spectacle it is to see this fine country so badly cultivated, and the peasants so poorly housed. Look, too, what great tracts are left entirely uncultivated. You do not see any thing like this in those parts of Prussia, where the peasants are educated proprietors. There they are prosperous, and the land is beautifully cultivated. Here a great part of the land is waste, while the peasants are the miserable serfs of great lords who spend their rents at a distance from their estates. If Bohemia were only cultivated like Prussia, it would be one of the richest countries in Europe. But it never can be properly cultivated under the present system." This was a remarkable opinion to be uttered by a German landlord. But so it is. The different effects of these different systems of legislation are so conspicuous, that no one who is commonly intelligent can fail to remark it; while no one who does perceive it, can meet it in this case by the old argument, "it is the difference of race which occasions this difference in the condition and character of the people." The truth is, race has little or nothing to do with the degradation of either the Bohemian, the Austrian, or the Irish peasantry. In each of these cases it is entirely the result of bad social and political institutions.

Even in Prussia*, the difference between the condition of the peasants in those parts of the country, where the land is subdivided, and in those parts, where the peasants are merely day-labourers on the great estates of rich landowners, is very remarkable. In the former, as I shall show hereafter, the peasants are prosperous, hopeful, and industrious, are dressed comfortably, have roomy and well built houses, and have all the manners and appearance of independent men; while in the latter, they are pauperised, wretchedly lodged, miserably clothed, and exhibiting no symptoms of improvement. All Prussian authorities agree in this statement. There are not, however, many large estates in Prussia; and the latter description of peasants is becoming rarer every day.

Germany and Switzerland are peculiarly instructive and interesting countries to a traveller, who visits them in order to study the effects of different political and social institutions on the characters of nations. In each country, people of the same race have been exposed to the influence of institutions of the most varying character, and in each, as I shall show hereafter, the different results, invariably and without exception, prove that the more liberal the institutions, the better will be the people; that the social condition of the people is generally the direct and immediate result of its institutions, and that it is capable of an amelioration, of which

* In some able articles, published in the National-Zeitung in 1849, it is shown that "a comparison of the statistics of the different provinces proves that the larger and the fewer the estates, by so much the less prosperous invariably is the condition of the peasantry."

in England we can have no conception; that the institutions, which alone can effect this end, are those which teach the people how to raise themselves, and which make it possible for the people to raise themselves by perseverance and temporary self-denial, and not such, as favour one class more than another, or such as keep one class for ever in the leading-strings of another. Independence, perfect independence, unshackled independence of action, is absolutely necessary to the success and improvement of one class as much as to that of the other.

This independence cannot exist, where a class is uneducated, and unable to understand its interests or how to make the most of its resources. Ignorance is a greater thraldom than oppression; for oppression does stimulate to opposition; whereas, ignorance cramps and palsies efforts, by concealing the view of the advantages to be gained by industry.

Some persons, perhaps, will think that the turbulent conduct of the people of the great towns of Germany, since the commencement of the year 1848, does not speak much for the contentment or character of the poorer classes of Germany. It may seem strange to those who do not know Germany; but to myself the conduct of the people of that country, since the outbreak of the different revolutions, is one of the strongest proofs of the great intelligence and strong conservative feeling of the poorer classes of Germany that could possibly be adduced. My reasons for thinking so are simply these. A political change has been effected in Germany, greater and more sudden than almost any

that history records. In the beginning of 1848 there was not even the semblance of political liberty. There was neither liberty of speech, nor liberty of action, nor freedom of the press. The people were treated like children. The governments did every thing for them, and suffered them to take no part worth speaking of in the direction of national affairs. The will of each sovereign was law in its fullest and widest sense. The newspapers were not allowed to print any articles of criticism upon any matter of internal politics. Every sentence which was destined for the press, whether for a book, or for a newspaper, or pamphlet, had to be subjected, before it was printed, to a censor appointed by government, who cut out every thing which he thought ought not to be printed. In the Austrian empire, not only were the newspapers prevented publishing any original articles on internal or external politics, but they were also prohibited publishing any news about foreign political matters; so that the Austrian people were kept in the strangest and most complete state of ignorance about the progress of events in foreign countries, as well as of every political event which took place in the different provinces of their own empire. The Austrian papers contained articles of literary criticism, notices of court proceedings, accounts of the fêtes of foreign courts, incidents of travel, articles on music; and this was nearly all. Such was the depressing influence of this strict censorship, that even the literary articles were so miserably poor as not to be worth reading. Austrian literature had sunk to the lowest ebb, for nothing like free thought could express itself in print.

In Austria, too, no person could move from his native town to another without a written order of the police. If he attempted to do so without an order, he was always detected at the entrance of the town, and stopped and punished. The native of one town, before he could pass the gates of another, had to produce his permission, to show it to the police, and to get it entered into a book kept on purpose.

No foreigner was ever allowed to enter into any Austrian town or city, until he had shown and delivered his passport to the police, told them where he was going to lodge, and received a ticket from them. He could not leave the town again, until he had got his ticket again exchanged for his passport.

Except in one or two provinces, there were no public courts of justice in Germany, and no juries. Every political and every civil offender was examined in closed courts, before judges appointed by the central power, and convicted and sentenced by the judges. In Austria, every man was liable to be dragged suddenly from his home and family, and confined at the will of the police in some distant dungeon, while his poor family was often left uncertain whether he was dead or alive, or where he was concealed.

In Austria, every Roman Catholic (and nearly the whole population are Roman Catholics) was *obliged* to confess himself to his parish priest at certain fixed periods every year. The priests were *obliged* to inform the police who neglected to confess at the appointed times, and these persons were heavily punished. One of the priests in Vienna told me, that this system was

introduced in order to keep the people in check, and to find out every commencement of political plots. No one was safe, as he might be betrayed by some superstitious or incautious neighbour at the next confessional.

Immense numbers of police and spies were kept in the pay of the governments. In some parts of Germany, and more especially in Austria, no one dared to speak on political matters before a stranger, and scarcely before a friend. As the people often said to me, "*we are never sure whom we may be addressing.*" A few incidents of my own travels will best show to what extent this wretched system was put in force.

In 1846 I spent some weeks at Bonn, in Prussia. I there made acquaintance with a student of great ability, and the son of a member of the Prussian government. He informed me, as of a matter of course, that the students were not allowed to discuss politics freely at their parties. He said, that only a few days before there had been an evening party of some students; that one of them had got a little excited with beer, and had spoken rather freely about political matters; that the police had *somehow or other* heard of it, and that the student had been summoned to the police bureau the next morning, and had been told, that if he ever repeated his offence, he would be heavily punished and expelled the university.

At Berlin, in the same year, I was walking one afternoon with two young professors. We had been discussing for some time the state of political feeling in Germany, and the political wants of the people, when

my companions suddenly put a stop to the conversation. Not understanding their reason for doing so, I endeavoured to renew it; when they answered me, "We had better change the conversation, Sir; just before us there are two of the police; and in Prussia, we never talk politics when we are in sight of any of the police."

In 1847, I dined with about 200 of the National Guard of Dresden: many of them were gentlemen, and others shopkeepers of the city. After dinner we had, as in England, a good many toasts and speeches: several of these latter were political. It was very curious to hear them. All the opinions of the speakers were clothed in enigmatical language; and though nothing was intended beyond what is spoken in our House of Peers every day, still no one ventured to mention reforms in the laws, except in an indirect kind of way. The hints were all understood, and were cheered all the more, from the general feeling of the danger which the speakers ran in giving utterance, even in this enigmatical manner, to their opinions. A man, who sat beside me, told me, in answer to my questions, that it would not be safe to discuss political matters in a freer vein, and in more undisguised language. It is to be remembered that in this country, Saxony, there was no free press. The papers were not allowed to publish any thing that the government disapproved. No book was printed, out of which the government had not previously cut out every sentence it disliked.

In the same year I was travelling by rail from Leipsig to Dresden. In the same carriage were three Germans. I entered into conversation with one who was sitting

near me. In the course of the conversation, I said, in an inquiring way, "I hear that Prince John has been very unpopular in Leipsic, ever since the Leipsic riots." The German did not answer for a short time, and then, coming up close to me, he said, in a low tone of voice, "It is always better, Sir, to avoid politics in a railway-carriage, in Germany, when there are third parties present. We generally make a point of not talking politics at such times. I hope you will excuse my observation." I bowed, and turned the conversation. This was in Saxony, of the freedom of which country we have heard so much.

In 1846, I was travelling in the north of Bavaria, on the Nuremberg line of railroad: there were four Germans in the same carriage in which I was seated: two of them I knew; the others were strangers to us all. I had been talking in German to my friends, for some time, when the conversation turned upon Munich, and the great expenditure of the King upon art. I asked how the King had obtained all the money necessary for his great works, and whether it was true that many parts of the internal administration were suffering from want of means. My friends instantly addressed me in French, and said, "If you wish to talk about political matters, it will be advisable to speak in French. We do not know the persons who are present, and it is never safe to talk politics before a stranger." We continued our conversation, therefore, in French.

In Austria, the people would never talk with me upon political matters. If a stranger addressed them

on such subjects, it instantly produced a lull in the conversation, and an expression of countenance which said, "Who are you? do you know in what land you are travelling? do you want to betray us?"

In Austria, and the greater part of Germany, neither the upper, middle, nor lower ranks of the people were allowed to interfere in any manner in political affairs. They were not told what the government intended to do; nor, when done, were they allowed to criticise, or even pass an opinion upon, the line of policy adopted. The people of Austria, and of many parts of Germany, enjoyed no kind of training whatever in political matters; neither the training to be derived from reading dissertations upon political matters, nor even that to be derived from reading the political histories of foreign lands. In Austria, and many parts of Germany, all thought, and still more all discussion, upon political matters was prevented, and effectually stifled, by spies and police. Owing to this, the people of Austria and of other parts of Germany were literally babes in political knowledge and political experience.

Is it, then, to be wondered at, that when this wretched system crumbled away under the moral earthquake of the French Revolution of 1848, the German people, wholly inexperienced as they were, should have committed extravagances, and that they should have shown that they did not know how to use the power with which they suddenly found themselves invested?

Do Englishmen forget how much bloodshed and civil strife it cost us to escape from the trammels of tyranny, and to establish a constitutional government?

In two short months the old tyrannies and governments of Germany fell to pieces. For several months afterwards, there was literally no government in the greater part of Germany and Austria. The people found themselves suddenly without masters, and discovered that the reins of government, which they had never handled, and which they had never been taught to handle, were thrown to them.

The wonder is, — not that riots and bloodshed ensued in the great cities, but that the whole of Germany and Austria was not convulsed by a horrible civil war. I am firmly persuaded, that if it had not been for the great intelligence of all ranks of the people, and also for the great subdivision of the landed property among the peasants themselves, we should have witnessed a revolution in Germany, much more terrible than any thing of the kind that has ever occurred in Europe; for never before did any people emerge so suddenly from such an extreme of political thraldom, into such an extreme of political freedom. Of all proofs of the beneficial effects of education, and of a system of peasant proprietors, I know none more undeniably satisfactory than the conduct of the German peasants during these late revolutionary times. When my readers consider from what a state of political bondage they suddenly broke loose, and what an absolute freedom from restraint they suddenly attained, they will surely grant that they exhibited but little of that wild revelling in liberty, which usually follows the sudden bursting loose from long-endured and galling tyranny,

and which might, if history be any guide, have naturally been expected.

There is no people on the face of the earth, morally and intellectually considered, so well fitted for and so deserving of the enjoyment of real liberty as the Germans. All classes of the inhabitants of Prussia and Saxony are as far advanced in the scale of civilization as our shop-keeping classes. All they require is experience in the exercise of political privileges. This they never enjoyed before the year 1848, so that it is not to be wondered at that many excesses and follies have been committed in their first experiments in political liberties. These excesses may, in their case — as in the case of all nations in all times, — lead to the temporary suspension of their unfolding freedom; but that suspension will be only temporary. The masses of the German people are so intelligent that it will be impossible for any of the German governments to run counter to public opinion for any length of time. Ever since the governments began, in 1815, to educate the peasants, public opinion has been growing stronger and stronger with the growth of intelligence, and the governments have been obliged to secede, year by year, more and more from their old ideas and from their old pretensions. If it had not been for the education of the people, the absolute forms of government would have lasted in Germany for centuries to come; for the people, before the schools were built, were asleep and stupid, and were not goaded into any longing for liberty by actual miseries like those, which produced the Revolution of 1789 in France. Education has taught

the German peasants to desire political freedom, and has fitted them for its enjoyment. When the change is once effected, and the first commotions necessarily attendant on that change are over, and when the Germans have had a little experience in political affairs, they will prove themselves more deserving of unrestricted liberty than any nation upon earth.

As I have already said, the moral, intellectual, and physical condition of the peasants and operatives of Prussia, Saxony, and other parts of Germany, of Holland, and of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and the social condition of the peasants in the greater part of France, is very much higher and happier, and very much more satisfactory, than that of the peasants and operatives of England; the condition of the poor in the North German, Swiss, and Dutch towns, is as remarkable a contrast to that of the poor of the English towns, as can well be imagined; and that the condition of the poorer classes of Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and France is rapidly improving.

The great superiority of the preparation for life, which a poor man receives in the countries I have mentioned, to that which a peasant or operative receives in England, and the difference of the social position of a poor man in these countries to that of a peasant or operative in England, seem sufficient to explain the difference which exists between the moral and social condition of the poor of our own country and of the other countries I have named.

In Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, a child begins its life in the society of parents, who have been educated

and brought up for years in the company of learned and gentlemanly professors, and in the society and under the direction of a father, who has been exercised in military arts, and who has acquired the bearing, the clean and orderly habits, and the taste for respectable attire, which characterise the soldier. The children of these countries spend the first six years of their lives in homes which are well regulated. They are during this time accustomed to orderly habits, to neat and clean clothes, and to ideas of the value of instruction, of the respect due to the teachers, and of the excellence of the schools, by parents, who have, by their training in early life, acquired such tastes and ideas themselves.

Each child, at the age of six, begins to attend a school, which is perfectly clean, well ventilated, directed by an able and well educated gentleman, and superintended by the religious ministers and by the inspectors of the government. Until the completion of its fourteenth year, each child continues regular daily attendance at one of these schools, daily strengthening its habits of cleanliness and order, learning the rudiments of useful knowledge, receiving the principles of religion and morality, and gaining confirmed health and physical energy by the exercise and drill of the school playground. No children are left idle in the streets of the towns; no children are allowed to grovel in the gutters; no children are allowed to make their appearance at the schools dirty, or in ragged clothes; and the local authorities are obliged to clothe all whose parents cannot afford to clothe them.

The children of the poor of Germany, Holland, and

Switzerland acquire stronger habits of cleanliness, neatness, and industry at the primary schools, than the children of the small shop-keeping classes of England do at the private schools of England, and they leave the primary schools of these countries much better instructed than those who leave our middle-class private schools. After having learnt reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, geography, history, and the Scriptures, the children leave the schools, carrying with them into life habits of cleanliness, neatness, order, and industry, and an awakened intellect, capable of collecting truths, and of reasoning upon them.

At the age of twenty all the young men, having been educated as above mentioned, enter the army, and, for two or three years, go through all the exercises of a severe military discipline, and through all the precise and orderly drill of soldiers. All are subjected to this course. In the barracks is continued the discipline which was commenced in the playgrounds of the schools. They learn to walk uprightly, to go through all military manœuvres, and to act in concert; they strengthen their previously acquired habits of good dressing, cleanliness, neatness, and order; they harden their muscles by exercise and severe drill; they learn how to use arms; by being moved from barracks to barracks, and from province to province, they become better acquainted with their own country, and see more of life and of the world, than if they had been confined, as peasants generally are, to the narrow circle of a parish or provincial town; they strengthen their patriotic sentiments by learning to regard themselves as members of their

country's army, and as capable of aiding to defend their fatherland; they acquire manly and masculine ideas and habits, by being for three years accustomed to the severest daily drill and exercises, by being taught to look the hazards of a soldier's life in the face, and by being habituated to the use of the instruments of death; they acquire manners of courtesy by their relations with their officers, and gain that manly and self-confident feeling, which is the consequence of practice in the use of arms. Habits thus acquired become a second nature which can seldom be shaken off afterwards. The dissemination of such habits among the people must be productive of great good. The dispersion of Cromwell's army diffused among the English people a leaven of manly vigour, active industry, intelligent subordination, and courageous independence. In Germany and Switzerland, the constant diffusion among the people of soldier-citizens with such habits as those I have mentioned, tends inconceivably to raise the character of the lower orders of society.

It must not be supposed that the character of the soldiers of foreign armies is like that of our own. In our country, the soldiers are generally men of habits not sufficiently steady and industrious to enable them to succeed in the ordinary avocations of life, or men who do not like to depend upon their own independent exertions. They are too often the worst specimens of our peasants, or of the idle populations of our towns. Their barrack life is not distinguished by any strict morality; on the contrary, the neighbourhood of a regiment with us is proverbially bad, and is carefully avoided

by families. This is not to be wondered at. The sober domestic man, who loves a home, will not, in England, choose a soldier's life, where he must, in the majority of cases, either give up all idea of marrying, or separate from his wife, and leave her unprotected and alone. It is, therefore, the men who do not care for wives or domestic comforts, who generally, with us, seek the army. Whilst, therefore, it may be fairly questioned whether it is not better for the community to draw away from the villages and towns the class of men, who most naturally and generally seek the army in England, and to subject them to a severe daily drill, and to constant surveillance; and, although it may be, that this class of men make the bravest and the most daring soldiers; yet it is not to be wondered at, that their barrack life is dissolute, notwithstanding strict watchfulness on the part of the officers, nor is it great matter of wonder, if such men often contaminate and injure one another. Our barrack life would not, therefore, be likely to improve the people.

But it is different in Germany and Switzerland. The men who are each year enlisted there, are all the youths of the nation who have attained their twentieth year. All must enlist. Soon after their education in the schools is completed, they begin their education and exercises in the barracks. The drill is severer than ours; the surveillance in the barracks is stricter; the character of the young men who enter them is incomparably better. The shopkeeper's son, the artizan's, the peasant's, the doctor's, the lawyer's and the farmer's, *all* enter the ranks of the army together, serve side by

side, wear the same dress, live in the same barracks, and are subjected to the same discipline. The barrack life in these countries is but a continuance of the school life, with this difference, that the discipline is stricter, that physical training takes the place of mental training, and that the soldiers are older than the scholars.

No parent, therefore, fears sending his sons to the barracks in these countries, more than he does sending them to the schools. The young men find, on entering the barracks, their relations, their old associates, and the sons of their father's friends; and they find themselves subjected to a stricter discipline than that of any school or college of their own or of any other country.

After the most careful attention to this subject, the results of the military systems of Germany and Switzerland appeared to me to be admirable. The drill of the army is so severe, that a peasant is only too happy to exchange it for his simple duties in the country. It does not breed any discontent, nor does it at all unfit a young man for the duties of his after life; but it returns him to his parish and his home a manly, orderly, gentlemanly, and hard-working citizen.

True it is, that three years spent in the army are so much cut out of a man's professional life, but they are well spent in gaining what the exercises of those years confer.

The system tends also to prevent improvidently early marriages, as the young men do not marry until their term of barrack discipline is past; and it thus acts as a very powerful and very healthy check upon the too rapid increase of population.

It tends also very much to improve the race of the lower classes of the citizens. A soldier accustomed to good dress, to great cleanliness, and to gentlemanly associates, seeks a better-looking and more ladylike style of wife, than a poor boorish peasant, who has been brought up all his life without any or with very little instruction, in dirt, and among the lowest classes of the farm girls of a country village. Where the tastes of the men improve, the girls will always strive to raise themselves up to the standard which the men require; and so it happens, that the school and army training of the peasants of Germany and Switzerland tends most remarkably to civilise the women of the lowest classes of society. An Englishman, taken to the markets, fairs, and village festivals of these countries, would scarcely credit his eyes were he to see the peasant girls who meet there to join in the festivities; they are so much more ladylike in their appearance, in their manners, and in their dress, than those of our country parishes.

I hope it will not be supposed, from what I have said about the discipline in the barracks in Germany and Switzerland, that I intend to infer, that such an institution would suit our people or our habits. I have only narrated a simple fact, viz., that such an institution exists abroad, and is productive there of good results. If I had passed it over in silence, it would have been said, that I joined with other writers in condemning it and its effects. I have not wished to expose myself to such an imputation, and therefore, at the risk of offending some to whom such an institution is peculiarly

odious, I have ventured to show how it seemed to me to work abroad.

When the young men leave the army after their three years' service as soldiers, and when they return to their native parishes, they find themselves in the following position. They are well educated, healthy, strong, and active. Nearly all the land is divided into small estates, and is held and cultivated by peasants. The process of conveying an estate from one owner to another is very simple and cheap. Great numbers of small estates in all parts of the country are constantly in the market to be sold. Each young man finds that many of his friends and relations, who had left the army some years before himself, have bought houses and plots of land, and are engaged in farming for themselves. The young peasant, stimulated by his desire to get married and to become a householder and a proprietor, hires himself to a farmer who requires a labourer, learns farming, lays by his savings; and if he has no old relation to whose property he would naturally succeed in the course of time, after some years saving, he invests his little capital as a first payment towards the purchase of a house and farm, raises the remainder of the price by way of mortgage, and enters into possession, paying off the mortgage by regular instalments. Sometimes the purchase is hastened and facilitated by his marriage with a young woman, who brings with her some small amount of saved earnings towards the purchase. The desire to acquire the possession of a house and farm tends very greatly to restrain early marriages, and stimulates very greatly the

energies, hopes, and exertions of the peasants. Doubtless, there are many peasants who cannot make up their minds to present self-denial, to postponement of marriage, and to doubled exertion, in order to attain what seems at first a distant good; but the knowledge that it is possible to buy a farm, if such present self-denial is exercised, and the desire to purchase one, operate with such force, that in most parts of Germany, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, the Tyrol, North Italy, and France, the greatest part of the land belongs to the farmers and peasants, who cultivate it for themselves.

Even the labourers in the small towns of these countries often possess outside the towns small gardens or plots of land, to which they resort in the evenings in order to cultivate them, or to carry away their produce for the use of their families.

Every peasant, who possesses one of these estates, becomes interested in the maintenance of public order, in the tranquillity of the country, in the suppression of crimes, in the fostering of industry among his own children, and in the promotion of their intelligence. A class of peasant proprietors forms the strongest of all Conservative classes.

Such is a sketch of the social situation, and of the preparation for life, of a peasant of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. Before I describe the condition of the peasants and labourers of these countries, let me just glance at the preparation for life, which the majority of our poor receive. Of the children of the poor, who are yearly born in England, vast numbers never

receive any education at all, while many others never enter any thing better than a dame or a Sunday-school. In the towns they are left in crowds until about eight or nine years of age, to amuse themselves in the dirt of the streets, while their parents pursue their daily toil. In these public thoroughfares, during the part of their lives, which is most susceptible of impressions and most retentive of them, they acquire dirty, immoral, and disorderly habits; they become accustomed to wear filthy and ragged clothes; they learn to pilfer and to steal; they associate with boys, who have been in prison, and who have there been hardened in crime by evil associates; they learn how to curse one another, how to fight, how to gamble, and how to fill up idle hours by vicious pastimes; they acquire no knowledge except the knowledge of vice; they never come in contact with their betters; and they are not taught either the truths of religion or the way by which to improve their condition in life. Their amusements are as low as their habits. The excitements of low debauchery too horrible to be named, of spirituous liquors, which they begin to drink as early as they can collect pence wherewith to buy them, of the commission and concealments of thefts, and of rude and disgusting sports, are the pleasures of their life. The idea of going to musical meetings, such as those of the German poor, would be scoffed at, even if there were any such meetings for them to attend. Innocent dancing is unknown to them. Country sports they cannot have. Read they cannot. So they hurry for amusement and excitement to the gratification of sensual desires and appetites. In this manner,

filthy, lewd, sensual, boisterous, and skilful in the commission of crime, a great part of the populations of our towns grow up to manhood. Of the truth or falsehood of this description any one can convince himself, who will examine our criminal records or who will visit the back streets of any English town, when the schools are full, and count the children upon the doorsteps and pavements, and note their condition, manners, and appearance, and their degraded and disgusting practices.*

The state of things is better in the country villages; but it is generally better, more from the absence of the corrupting influences always to be found in town streets, than from the presence of corrective influences.

Many town parishes are without any schools at all; the instruction given in most of the schools, which are established, is miserable in its character; infant schools are terribly needed in almost every town in England. Efficient teachers are needed everywhere. Every child in Germany and Switzerland remains in school, or continues to receive education, from the age of six to that of fourteen, and often to that of sixteen or seventeen; while in England, even of those children who do go to school, few remain there beyond the age of nine or ten. If all this be true, is it to be wondered at, that the dress of our peasants, their manners, their appearance, their amusements, their manner of speaking, their cleanliness, the character of their houses, the condition of their

* Lord Ashley informs us, (see Chap. II. of this work,) that there are 30,000 poor children such as these in London alone.

children, and their intelligence, should be all miserably inferior to those of the peasants of Germany, Holland, and of some parts of Switzerland and France?

I confess that to me it seems to be a sufficiently reasonable conclusion, that such should be the case; but whether reasonable or not, such it undoubtedly is.

I shall now attempt to give my readers a sketch of the condition of the poor in Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, and to show how far the training which a poor man goes through in these countries, combined with the division of the land, has tended to improve the intelligence, the habits, the appearance, the manners and customs, the amusements, the political character, and the happiness of the poorer classes.

In order that my readers should the better understand, what has occasioned the division of the land among the people in Germany, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, the Tyrol, North Italy, and France, I shall be obliged, very briefly, to state the difference of the laws relating to property in land in Great Britain and Ireland and in the countries I have mentioned above.

In Great Britain and Ireland the laws relating to property in land are either the direct creations of the feudal system, or modifications of that system, varying in character as little as the change of times and circumstances will allow. They form one of the most difficult and intricate parts of our jurisprudence, being compounded of ancient feudal regulations, couched in quaint and technical language, of modifications engrafted upon the old system by the monastic orders, and of statutes modi-

fying the stringency of the old restrictive laws, or restraining the liberality of the monastic interpretations.

They are so technical, and are based upon so much antiquated learning, and upon so many almost forgotten customs, that it is quite impossible for any one, who has not made himself master of a great deal of the old learning connected with them, to understand them. If a system had been expressly devised, in order to keep every one but the studious part of the legal profession ignorant of its objects and meaning, none could have been better fitted to effect this end than our present landed property laws. It is most astonishing that, in this age of reforms, no one has attempted to codify and simplify these laws. When we see the beautiful simplicity and clearness of the foreign codes, enabling any unprofessional person to understand their general meaning and effect; and when we look at our own system, which keeps every one, but a part of the legal profession, in absolute darkness as to the rights and privileges of an owner of land, which often renders it very difficult and expensive for a proprietor to find out, what his real power over his own property is, and which tends so greatly to fetter and impede the sale of land, by rendering its conveyance from man to man so difficult and expensive; and when we remember, how many centuries this system has existed, we see another singular instance of the difficulty and slowness, with which the most useful and necessary national reforms are effected.

These laws were framed, and have been retained, for the express purposes of keeping the land in the hands

of a few proprietors, — of depriving the peasants and small shopkeepers of any part of it, and of the influence which its possession confers, — and of supporting a great landed proprietor class, in order to uphold the system of aristocratic government, and to give greater strength and stability to the Crown.

It would be very difficult, in a work like the present, to give persons who have not studied these laws any correct idea of their extraordinary intricacy, or of the way in which they tend to prevent the subdivision of the large estates among the shopkeeper and peasant classes; but it is necessary for me to attempt some faint sketch of them, in order that my readers should have something like a true idea of the cause of the subdivision of land in foreign countries. This I shall do as shortly and as distinctly as possible.

In Great Britain and Ireland, in Russia, and in some parts of Austria alone, as many of my readers are aware, the land is still divided, and, so to speak, tied up, in few hands and in immense estates; and in these countries alone the old laws relating to landed property, which emanated from the feudal system, and which tend to prevent the subdivision of estates, still continue in force. These laws effect this end by means of the extraordinary powers which they confer upon owners of land. They enable an owner of land to prevent the sale of the land by himself during his own life, by his creditors, and by any successor or other person for many years after his own death.

They enable an owner of an estate in *fee simple* (*i. e.* of an estate which the owner can sell so as to give

the purchaser full powers of selling it to whomsoever he pleases), not only to dispose of his land during his own lifetime, and to leave the whole estate in it to any one he pleases after his death, but to do very much more. They enable him, if he has not been prevented by the settlement or will of a former proprietor, to grant by his settlement, or to leave by his will, different interests in his land to a number of persons, and so to arrange the succession to the ownership of the property by his settlement or will, that no person or persons shall be able to *sell* any portion of the land, until some person, who was an infant at the time of making the settlement, or at the death of the person having made the will, has grown up, married, and had a son, and until that son has attained the age of twenty-one years, and not even then, so as to confer a right to the immediate possession of it, unless all those, who have any interest in the land prior to that of the last-mentioned son, are dead, or join in the sale.

Let me give an example to explain this more clearly. Supposing A to be the owner of an estate in fee simple, and B, C, and D, his nephews; and suppose D to be the youngest of his nephews, and to be only *one year* old, when A makes a settlement of his estate. A is empowered by our laws to grant his estate to his nephew B for his life; and, after B's death, to C for his life; and, after C's death, to D for his life; and, after D's death, to D's eldest son in fee or in tail; or, if D should leave no son, to the unborn child of some one else in fee or in tail. If D grows up to manhood, marries, and has a son, the estate cannot be sold, until

that son has attained his twenty-first year, and not even then, unless all the persons, entitled to the estate before him, are dead, or join with him in the sale.

It may be stated, generally, that these laws enable an owner of land, by his settlement or will, so to affect his estate, that it cannot possibly be sold, in many cases for about *fifty*, and, in some cases, for even *sixty*, *seventy*, or *a hundred* years after the making of the settlement or will.

However advisable it may be, that the estate should be sold for the sake of all those who are interested in it, such is the state of the law, that in many cases this is impossible, owing to the terms of the settlement or will of some former proprietor, who died, it may be *fifty*, *sixty*, *seventy*, or *eighty* years ago.

Our law is not content with giving the living man full power over the land, but it gives his corpse, so to speak, a controlling power long after breath has departed, and after the circumstances of the family or nation have changed.

Owners of land are also enabled in certain cases to make long leases of their land, and to introduce into these leases, clauses, which prevent the land being underlet or sold, or treated in any of the excepted manners mentioned in the lease. Such leases often affect the land for many years; sometimes for several generations after the death of those who made them; and often prevent improvements, which the progress of science, long after the decease of the person who so affected the land, has rendered not only possible but expedient.

Owners of land are also in certain cases allowed to

create all sorts of curious interests or estates in their lands. If A be an owner of an estate with full powers of disposition, he may sell it for his own lifetime only, or he may sell it to B for A's, or for B's, or for another person, C's, life, or for a certain number of years; and he may sell the succession to the estate after B's death to another person, C, for his own life, or for the life of some other person, or for a number of years, and so on for any number of persons who are living at the time of the settlement; and afterwards he may settle the succession to the land, after the deaths of all the former persons, upon the child or children of some infant not yet out of its nurse's arms; or he may make the same sort of arrangements by his will.

When such settlements or wills as these have been made, the property cannot be sold, or treated contrary to the terms of the settlement or will, until the unborn child has been born and has attained the age of twenty-one years; and not even then, unless all the persons entitled to the property before him, have died, or unless they agree with him in making such disposition. Besides this, an owner of an estate *in fee* may mortgage his land, so as to charge it, not only for his own lifetime, but so as also to burden it with his debts for years, and sometimes for several generations, after his own death; or he may mortgage it to a number of people in succession, giving to each of the several mortgagees and to their families certain rights and claims over the estate, which may, and often do, endure for several generations after the person, who so mortgaged the property, has been gathered to his fathers.

There is another part of our system of laws relating to land which ought to be noticed,—this is the system of *primogeniture.* If a man possesses an estate *in fee* * in England, and dies without having settled his land, and without having made a will devising it, the law of England prescribes, that all the land shall, after the death of such person, except in certain rare exceptional cases, descend in *one undivided mass,* either to the eldest of his sons, if he has any, or, except in certain cases, if he has no sons living at the time of his death, to the nearest of his relations, according to a table of affinities prescribed by law.

The effect of this part of our system of laws is, that in nine cases out of ten the whole estate in fee of a deceased person, who has not made a settlement or will, descends *undivided* and *undiminished* in size to some one of his children or relatives; so that if a father, who possessed an estate in fee, die leaving six sons, and without having made a will, the eldest son by the law of England would take the *whole* estate, while the younger children would receive no share of it whatever. This is only a consequent part of the old feudal system, which was framed with the express design of preventing the subdivision of estates, and by this means of depriving the middle and lower classes of any share in the land of the country, and of keeping up the wealth and power of a rich ruling class of territorial aristocracy.

The consequences of the great powers given by our

* That is, an estate which he can sell if he pleases, so as to give the purchaser full powers of disposing of it.

law to proprietors over their estates, and of the system of primogeniture, are singular and numerous. I will briefly enumerate some of them.

1. It causes the land to accumulate in the hands of a few proprietors; it prevents it selling, in the generality of instances, in small estates; it has for the last two hundred years tended gradually, but continually, to merge all small freehold properties in the great estates, until the old race of yeomen freeholders and small copyholders, who, eighty years since, were to be found all over our island, has almost entirely disappeared; it thus deprives the farmers, the shopkeepers, and the peasants of almost every chance of purchasing small plots of land, except for building purposes, in the neighbourhood of the towns; it promotes a system of large farms, and by so doing lessens the number of small farms, and renders it every year more and more difficult for a peasant to rent a farm and to raise himself to the next step in the social scale; and *it thus deprives the peasant of all strong motives to exercise exertion, self-denial, economy, or prudence, renders his prospect hopeless, and condemns him to pauperism.*

2. It tends in many instances to cheat creditors of landlords of their just claims. If a man purchase land and get deeply into debt, and afterwards marry, and if upon his marriage, and while he is still in debt, he makes a settlement of his property in consideration of his marriage, and afterwards die, not having paid his debts, and leaving no money or other property besides the land, or not sufficient money wherewith to pay his debts, his creditors cannot sell a

bit of the land so settled, and have no means of recovering their debts, although they were induced to trust him before his marriage by seeing him in possession of the property.

If, too, a man has a great house and estate, which belong to him for his *lifetime* only, under his own or some prior settlement, and if shopkeepers and tradesmen, seeing him in possession of this great house and estate, allow him to run up long accounts with them, believing him to be able to pay any amount of claim upon him, and if this wealthy owner die very much in debt and leaving no money, the poor creditors, who had no means of learning, whether the land belonged to him for more than his own life or not, cannot, after his death, recover a farthing of their debts, even if their debtor was possessed during his lifetime of a million acres of land.

3. It tends also in very many instances to keep large estates out of the market for fifty, eighty, or one hundred years, when, if it had not been for these laws, the proprietor would either have been compelled to sell them by his own extravagance, or by his bad and unskilful farming or management; or when he would have voluntarily sold either part of them, in order to obtain capital wherewith to cultivate the other part better, or the whole of them, in order to engage in other pursuits more congenial to his tastes.

4. It induces unprincipled proprietors to be tenfold more careless, than they otherwise would be, about the education of the child, who is to succeed them; for they reason, with great truth, that whatever their

own extravagance, the child will take the property, which is settled upon him, unaffected by his father's debts, and, whatever the child's extravagance and folly, he will not be able to dissipate the property or to lower the social station of the family. It thus often puts into the influential places of the land men, whose early education and habits have rendered them totally unfit to be intrusted with any influence whatever, and who never would have enjoyed that influence if it had not been for this state of the law; and it thus often sets up as examples for society, persons of depraved tastes and corrupted morals.

If a proprietor is extravagant, this state of the law, in the vast majority of cases, saves his estate from being sold either by himself or his creditors; and if he is prudent, it often enables him to add to the property, to entail, in many cases, again, and so to hand it, undivided and increased in extent, through several successive hands again.

5. It supports a large body of old men and young men, who are not obliged to work for their living, — who are kept by the laws in their positions, however unworthy of those positions they may be, — who have never been obliged to study or improve their minds, — who have therefore often grown up in ignorance and frivolity, — who are so rich as to enable them to exercise an immense influence in the state, and to make their own conduct and manners the standard for all thoughtless and weak-minded men, and who, therefore, more than any other class, foster habits of extravagance, effeminacy, luxury, and immorality.

An idle man is a public nuisance, and ought to be chased out of the hive of men. He fosters almost invariably immorality and vice. What shall we say, then, of a system which supports a crowd of idle men, and puts these idle men into the most influential places in the land?

6. It emancipates the heir almost entirely from the influence and authority of the father. Wherever the settlements are in force, and where the father has only the life estate, the son knows that his father cannot disinherit him, but that he is sure to succeed to the property, whatever his father's wishes may be. He knows that his chance of succeeding to the lands does not depend upon his being dutiful or undutiful, moral or profligate, industrious or idle.

The father cannot in such a case interfere with the son's interest in the estate. He cannot stimulate the eldest son to exertion or honourable conduct by the fear of the property being left to one of the other children. However unworthy the eldest son may be, in such a case he cannot be prevented succeeding to the estate.

A strict settlement, therefore, diminishes, and in fact destroys, the inducements, which would otherwise have actuated the eldest child in some degree, and it tends to render him idle, careless, disrespectful towards his father, and often profligate in his habits; and having done this, it puts him into one of the most influential places in the country, as an example to the nation.

7. It tends very greatly to retard the progress of agriculture, and it does so in several ways.

A young man, brought up in expectation of being at

some future time the possessor of a great estate, does not feel obliged to work hard, and does not therefore generally acquire studious or industrious habits; but, on the contrary, generally becomes fond of pleasure, amusements, luxury, and of many habits necessarily entailing considerable expenditure. As the heir to an estate has not, however, generally a large income until he enters into possession of the estate, so, during the life of the prior possessor, he is often obliged to borrow largely, in order to find means wherewith to gratify his luxurious habits. It is not generally difficult for him to do so, if he will engage to pay a handsome per-centage for the advance.

In this way many owners of land have burdened themselves with heavy debts, long before they have entered into enjoyment of their estates, and are then obliged to lay by a great part of each year's income in order to pay off their prior incurred debts. Such a man, therefore, is often unable to advance any capital towards the improvement of the cultivation of his estate, especially as he has been taught in his youth to consider it necessary, that he should afterwards keep up a certain "style" of living and expenditure. Thus many of our landowners, even when they are sufficiently intelligent, are not able to find sufficient spare capital to enable them to embark in many improvements.

Besides, their early luxurious education is not well qualified to enable them to devote themselves afterwards to practical farming, or to give them any taste for such an employment. A merchant, who had brought up his son in the gaieties of London fashion until he was

thirty or thirty-five years of age, would not expect, afterwards, to find him able to apply to the dry and laborious duties of business, or to prosecute these duties with any success. So, it cannot be expected, that a young nobleman, or the son of an owner of landed property, who has been brought up in gaiety and idleness, until he is between thirty and forty years of age, should afterwards, in the generality of cases, practise farming or agriculture with any great success, even when he has sufficient ready capital, in addition to his personal expenditure, to enable him to do so. But no matter how unable or how unwilling the landlord may be to farm his lands in a profitable or skilful manner, this system of laws prevents him, in many instances, selling his lands to those, who would farm better than himself, and who would feel more interest in the cultivation of the lands; and it thus often prevents a landlord engaging in some other occupation, for which he was better fitted than for farming.

Nor is inability on the part of the landlord compensated by the ability of the steward. There is not one steward in a hundred, who *can* feel as much interest in the improvement of his master's property, as he would feel if he himself were the owner; and the less the interest he feels in the property, the less labour will he devote to its improvement. This is universally true.

An estate, which is managed by a steward, no matter how intelligent the steward may be, is scarcely ever so well cultivated as an estate, which is cultivated by an intelligent owner himself. But under the system of which I am speaking, the owners are generally so

brought up, as to know as little as possible about farming, to dislike all business-like employments, and to look down upon them as something with which it would dishonour them to meddle.

If, then, this system tends both to diminish the proprietors' stocks of ready capital, and to destroy their fitness and willingness for the occupation of agriculture, it surely cannot be a matter of surprise, if agriculture suffers; for it is clear, both from the actual state of things and from evident causes, that a farmer, who holds a farm without a lease of it, will never feel so safe in laying out his capital and labour upon the improvement of the land, and will never be so willing to do so to any extent, as if the land were his own, or even as he would do if he held it under a lease.

Let any one ask himself, If I were a farmer and had no lease of my farm, or only a lease of it for seven or ten years, should I be willing to expend three or four hundred pounds upon its improvement? The answer will be always in the negative; but if he were owner, he would not only have no objection to expend upon improvements, but he would feel interested in doing so.

8. The extraordinary powers given to owners of land in England, render it necessary, in framing the settlements or wills, to make long and expensive deeds or writings, and to provide in those deeds or writings for many circumstances which may possibly occur in future years; for after the making, in the generality of instances, no alteration or provision to meet such circumstances can be made. An owner of land in Great Britain and Ireland knows, when he makes a settlement or will, that he is

about to regulate the succession to the land, and the rights of numerous parties to it, for many years, and often for several generations after his own death. He knows, that, in many cases, after he has once made his settlement, or after his death, if he has made a will, no possessor of the land will be able to do anything with it, except what he is permitted to do by the deed or will. It becomes necessary, therefore, in framing these deeds and wills, to make provision for all sorts of contingencies which may happen many years after the maker's death; and hence it becomes absolutely necessary to introduce numerous, lengthy, and carefully worded clauses, providing for all kinds of contingencies, conferring all kinds of powers, and guarding against all chance of misconstruction.

9. This system of mortgages, long leases, and intricate settlements and wills, which bind the land for many years after they are made, renders it often very difficult, and very expensive for a purchaser, even when he can find a small plot of land for sale, to discover what the real state of the title to the property is. It is often affected by so many ancient deeds, mortgages, and leases, which are scattered in so many hands; and it is often so difficult to find out whether all the persons entitled under the old deeds and wills are dead, or whether their title to the property is extinguished, that the mere inquiry into the title of a small plot of land, and the legal expenses attendant thereon, are often quite sufficient to deter a man, who is not rich, from venturing to invest money in the purchase of a plot he would otherwise have been glad to buy. And such is the effect of

the strange force given by these old feudal laws to the settlements and wills of dead proprietors, that the search into the title of a small farm of five or six acres may sometimes be quite as expensive as a search into the title of an estate of several thousands.

Sometimes too a piece of land is affected by different deeds in the hands of different persons, as, for instance, by different mortgages. It very often happens that no reference is made in one of these deeds to some one or more of the others; so that a purchaser of land can never be perfectly sure that, after his purchase is completed, some other deed may not be found in the hands of another person, giving him also a claim upon the land.

As an instance of this, I may mention the following fact. One of my friends purchased, a short time since, a small estate in the south of England. Prior to the purchase, he caused a most careful search to be made into the state of the title of the land. His attornies informed him that they could discover no incumbrance of which he was not already aware. He accordingly paid down the purchase-money, and the former proprietor had a deed made, transferring the land to him. The former proprietor then became a bankrupt and left the country. A short time afterwards, my friend was informed, that the estate he had purchased was mortgaged in 1200*l.* to another person, who produced the mortgage deed, and claimed the money due to him from the estate, and my friend was obliged to pay the money.

This is only a single instance of what all lawyers know constantly occurs in this country.

This state of the law has had the effect, throughout Great Britain and Ireland, of gradually accumulating the land in the hands of fewer and still fewer proprietors; of retaining the same estate for many years, and often for many generations, in the hands of the same family; of depriving the shopkeepers, farmers, and peasants, of any chance, in general, of purchasing lands; of progressively increasing the size and lessening the number of the farms, and thus of depriving the peasants more and more every year of any chance of even renting a farm.

As long as the proprietors of land are allowed to tie up the land, for so many years after their own deaths, by their settlements and wills, so long will it be quite impossible materially to lessen the expense of conveying a piece of land from one person to another; so long will the greater part of the land remain, as at present, accumulated in great estates, and in the hands of a few proprietors; and so long will it continue quite impossible, in the great majority of instances, for the small shopkeepers, and, still more, for the peasants, to buy land, or to invest their savings therein.

A system of registration would somewhat lessen the expense of the *search* for titles; but its effects would be very slow, so long as the settlements and wills were allowed to have such effect on the land as at present. Conveyances and wills would continue just as lengthy as at present. Many years would elapse, before even the expense caused by the examination of titles would be lessened, and the utmost, which could ever be effected by such a system, would do but little towards lessening the expense of conveyances, though it would make titles *safer* than at present.

Now, in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Lombardy, the Tyrol, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, France, and in a great part of Italy and America, the law does not allow the proprietor of land a power of preventing his property being sold after his own death. In all these countries the old feudal system of primogeniture, entails, long settlements, and intricate devises of land, invented in order to keep great estates together, to preserve the great power of the feudal aristocracy, and to prevent the lands getting into the hands of the shopkeeping and peasant classes, have been, since the first French Revolution, entirely swept away.

In *all* these countries every proprietor of land is allowed to sell or dispose of it as he likes during his own *lifetime.*

In *all* these countries, if the proprietor dies without having sold his land, and without having made a will, the law divides the land, after his death, among his wife and *all* his children, instead of giving the whole estate to the eldest son.

In *some* of these countries the proprietor is allowed to devise his land to whomsoever he will; but even in these cases he cannot prevent his successor disposing of it as he pleases.

In France, Switzerland, and the Rhine provinces, however, the proprietor (although he may dispose of his land as he chooses *during his lifetime*) cannot devise it, as the law gives each of his children a right to a certain share of all the land their father dies possessed of. If the division of the property would be inconvenient, or would cut it up into too small portions, the whole estate

is sold, either to one of the children or to a stranger, and the proceeds divided among the children.

This system of forced subdivision would seem, *prima facie*, to be as great an evil as a system of forced accumulation, if it were not that nearly all accounts agree * in proving that the average size of the estates in France does not go on decreasing, but that it is, on the contrary, *increasing* throughout the greater part of the country, as it is found, that the estate is always sold, when it is inexpedient to divide, and as there are many of the merchants and richer farmers who are always striving to accumulate large estates.

The best and soundest plan, however, is to give the proprietor power to leave his land to whomsoever he will, but to deprive him at the same time of all power of preventing his successor from selling any portion of the land, and of leaving his successors any other than the whole estate in the land devised to them.

But, whichever of these systems is pursued, it tends rapidly to divide the lands among the middle and lower classes, to render titles very simple, and, joined with systems of registration, such as those in force in foreign countries, to enable a man to purchase land without having to expend much upon the mere conveyance.

Whenever an owner of land in these countries is a spendthrift, an idler, or a man who does not know how to live within his income, he gets into debt, and, in the end, his land is sold by himself or by his creditors. Whenever, too, a man does not like agriculture, or

* See the authorities on the French system collected at the end of the chapter.

the care of an estate, and whenever a man dies leaving several children, who want each of them to obtain their share of their father's property in money, and not in land, the land is sold.

The conveyance of the land, in these countries, from man to man, is very simple and very cheap. Two causes contribute to produce this result.

1. The deeds of transfer are very short and simple.

No man can subject his estate to the long settlements and singular arrangements, to which an English proprietor can subject his land: he can only affect his land during *his own lifetime*. The consequence is, that it is not necessary to make provision in the deeds for so many contingencies, or for so many changes in the property, or for such long future arrangements as in England. The foreign deed does not generally do more, than convey away simply and briefly the whole of the seller's interest, and does not, as is the case generally in England, convey some limited interest in the land, and then make arrangements, how the rest of the interest in the land is to pass from hand to hand for the next fifty or eighty years, and for all the contingencies which may arise during that time.

2. There is no need to expend any money in examining the title of land in the foreign countries I have mentioned.

In most of these countries there are, in each of the provinces, registration courts, where all the changes in the right to, or ownership of, every parcel of land in the province is entered in a book under the name or description of the land. No mortgage, lease, conveyance,

or writing affecting land is allowed, by the laws of these countries, to have any validity, unless it is entered in the books of the registration office of the province in which the land is situated; so that a purchaser knows that he can always easily, without any expense, and in a few minutes, discover what the state of the title of the land he thinks of buying is; and he knows that no mortgage or other incumbrance, which is not copied in the registry book under the description of the piece of land which he thinks of purchasing, can turn up afterwards and affect his land, as the law, as I have said before, does not allow any validity whatsoever to any writing affecting the land, which is not registered in its proper place in the registry books of the province in which the land is situated.

Owing to these several causes, the land in these countries is very much divided, and is in the hands of a great number of proprietors. In Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, the Tyrol, France, North Italy, Denmark, and Norway, the majority of the estates vary from 300 acres to 1 acre in size. M. Lullin de Châteauvieux estimates the average size of the holdings of the 3,900,000 poorest proprietors of France at eight acres and a half.*

The small number of large estates in Prussia at the present time may be seen from the statement of the Prussian Minister of Statistics, made in the Prussian chambers in the month of October, 1849. He is represented to have said, that he had endeavoured to

* Mill's Political Economy, vol. i. p. 577.

obtain returns of the number of persons in the Prussian kingdom possessing clear annual incomes of more than 1200*l.*; that, after a careful scrutiny, he had ascertained that the number was only 474, and that these proprietors were distributed throughout Prussia in the following proportions: —

In the Province of	
Prussia, the Number of such Proprietors was	35
Posen,	60
Pomerania,	60
Silesia,	120
Brandenburg	70
Saxony,	50
Westphalia,	41
Rhine Province,	38
Total	474

To illustrate still more clearly the great subdivision of landed property in Prussia, Dr. Shubert, in his excellent work on the Statistics of the Kingdom of Prussia, informs us, that there are in Prussia —

257,347 estates, each of which is between 240 acres and 50 acres in size;
314,533 estates, each of which is less than 50 acres in size; and
668,400 persons (without reckoning the owners of the above-mentioned estates), some of whom have each of them, a small house of their own, whilst the remainder are labourers for others, and do not possess a house or any land of their own, but are allowed by their masters a field for the support of one or two cows.

Owing also to the impossibility of tying up the land by settlements, mortgages, long leases, or wills, and to the great simplicity and cheapness of the mode of conveying an estate from a seller to a purchaser, a great many estates of all sizes, and situated in all parts of

these countries, are constantly changing hands, or being offered for sale in the markets.

From these causes, people of all classes are able to become proprietors. Shopkeepers and labourers of the towns purchase gardens outside the towns, where they and their families work in the fine evenings, in raising vegetables and fruit for the use of their households; shopkeepers, who have laid by a little competence, purchase farms, to which they and their families retire from the toil and disquiet of a town life; farmers purchase the farms they used formerly to rent of great landowners; while most of the peasants of these countries have purchased and live upon farms of their own, or are now economising, and laying by all that they can possibly spare from their earnings, in order therewith as soon as possible to purchase a farm or a garden.

It is this, fact which more than any other, distinguishes the social state of these countries from that of Great Britain and Ireland. The position of the peasant in the first-mentioned countries admits of hope, of enthusiasm, and of progress, for he knows that if he is economical and prudent, he may make himself a proprietor, and may climb the social ladder. The position of the peasant in the last-mentioned countries is one of hopelessness, discontent, and stagnation; for what motive has he to induce self-denial, energy, and prudence; and what chance has he of improving his position in the world?

It is possible for the poorest young man in Germany, Switzerland, the Tyrol, Belgium, Holland, France, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, to purchase a garden or a

farm, if he is intelligent, prudent, and self-denying. It is a safer and more agreeable investment than that of a little shop, which is the only one open to a poor peasant in England. It seems to be inherent in man's nature to wish to possess land; and it is certain that there is no other inducement, which has half its force, in leading the poor man to give up present gratification for its sake. Few men will defer their marriage, or deny themselves the excitement of the tavern, or of the gambling-table, for the sake of becoming a shopman; but millions of peasants are at this moment on the continent of Europe putting off their marriages, abstaining from the use of spirits, and from immoral gratifications, working double hours, striving with double diligence to please their employers, refraining from the strife of politics, and availing themselves of every opportunity of saving money, in the hope of purchasing a garden or a farm.

Let it be remembered, that the subdivision of the old feudal estates, and the creation of the peasant proprietor class, and of systems of public registration of titles of landed property, have been effected since the outbreak of the first French Revolution. The old feudal laws, which enabled the landed proprietors of France to prevent their estates being sold for several generations after their deaths, were entirely repealed in 1789; those of Prussia, in 1811; and those of Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Saxony, Nassau, Bavaria, Wurtenburg, Baden, and Switzerland, at different times since the commencement of the present century. Before this great change was effected in the countries I have mentioned above,

the condition of the peasants in several of them was, at least, as bad as that of the Irish peasantry in the present day. Thus, Arthur Young says, speaking of the condition of the French peasantry just prior to the subdivision of the great estates, which existed in France before the first French Revolution, "It reminded me of the miseries of Ireland."

If any one will read Mr. Alison's description of the French peasantry prior to the Revolution, he will see that it is but a faithful picture of the Irish peasantry of the present day. The condition of the peasantry in many parts of Germany was no better. Indeed, it was so bad in Prussia, that the government was obliged to take from the proprietors their feudal powers of preventing their successors selling their lands, in order to save the nation from being ruined, as the Roman empire was, by the utter degradation of the poorer classes.

In Germany it was as in France, of which country, Mr. Alison (vol. i. p. 134.), quoting the authority of Arthur Young, says, "With a very few exceptions, the peasantry were in the most indigent condition; their houses dark, comfortless, and almost destitute of furniture; their dress ragged and miserable; their food the coarsest and most humble fare."

I am going to show, both from my own observation, and from many excellent authorities, what the state of the peasantry of those countries is at the present day, now that their governments have educated all the children, and have enabled the peasants to acquire land.

It ought to be borne in mind, however, that if the improvement in the state of the peasants of these coun-

tries has been so great since 1800, as I shall show it to have been, it is only reasonable to infer, that when the older and more uneducated generations, who were brought up under the old degrading system, have died away, and have given place to the younger and better educated ones, who have been brought up altogether under the present improving system, and when the present system itself, which has already produced such vast effects, has been allowed to work upon the people, unimpeded by the last remains of the old demoralising system, the effects will be still greater and still more surprising than at present.

Those peasants abroad, who have attained the age of fifty, began their lives under the old system, never received in their youth any education, were never taught by free institutions to feel, that their fate was in their own hands, but were demoralised in their youth by contact with demoralised peasants, such as those whom Arthur Young describes.

As might have been anticipated, the difference between the appearance, manners, and condition of the peasants of Germany and Switzerland, who are more than fifty years of age, and those of the peasants, who have not yet attained the age of thirty-five years, is still singularly apparent. A traveller, who did not know the causes of this difference, would return home with the most mistaken ideas of the progress of civilisation among the poorer classes of foreign countries. There is, in general, a clear and broadly defined difference between the peasants of more than fifty years of age, and those of less than thirty-five years of age, — a difference

which cannot escape the observation of any, but a careless or mere pleasure-seeking traveller. The peasants, who have not attained the age of thirty-five years, are better dressed, cleaner, more polite in demeanour, and more intelligent and respectable in appearance than those who are more than fifty years of age. They belong to different and very distinct systems of civilisation, and they each bear the stamp of the system under which they have grown up.

The fact that this difference has not been kept in view by travellers on the Continent, has been the cause of many of the contradictory reports, which we have heard. I wish it to be clearly understood, that when I speak of the civilisation and happy social condition of the peasants of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, I limit all my remarks to the class of peasants, who have not attained the age of thirty-five years, — to that class, in short, which has enjoyed the advantages of an excellent education, and which has grown up under the combined influences of the schools, and of the subdivision of landed property.

If other writers would observe this distinction, there would be no difference between our reports. My conviction is, that even those peasants of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, who have attained the age of fifty, are much more civilised and in a much better social position and condition than our own peasants, but that they are not so much superior to our own peasants as those, who are below the age of thirty-five years.

I shall now describe the condition of the poorer classes of foreign countries under different heads.

1. *The Intelligence of the Poorer Classes in Foreign Countries.*

As I have before stated, every child in Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, for the last twenty or thirty years, has been receiving a good education. Of the men and women under thirty-five years of age, nine tenths are well educated. They can *all* read, write, cipher, sing, and chant. They *all* know the Scripture history, and nearly all the outlines of the history of their own country. Throughout all parts of these countries, there are many of the poorest people who have learned more than this, and who know something of the general principles of science, or of the principles of some particular science.

In subsequent parts of this work, the reader will find many statistics to prove the truth of this statement, and to show how this great result has been obtained. I may, however, in this place, mention that, four years ago, the Prussian Government made a general inquiry throughout the kingdom to discover how far the school education of the people had been extended, and it was then ascertained that, out of all the young men in the kingdom who had attained the age of twenty-one years, *only two in every hundred were unable to read.* This fact was communicated to me by the Inspector General of the Kingdom.

The poor of these countries read a great deal more than even those of our own country who are able to read. It is a general custom in Germany and Switzerland, for four or five families of labourers to club together, and to subscribe among themselves for one or two

of the newspapers, which come out once or twice a week. These papers are passed from family to family, or are interchanged. Sometimes one set of families in a village takes in one paper, and another set another paper. These are exchanged, when each has been the round of its own set. When the press of North Germany was less free than it is at present, these papers did not contain many original articles on political matters; but they contained the political news of foreign countries, descriptions of wonderful works in process of erection, accounts of new inventions, lives of celebrated men, and articles on subjects of interest to the peasant farmers. The existence of the great class of poor readers had produced a class of cheap papers suited to meet the demand. The German press teems with cheap provincial papers published for the peasants, and filled with the news and information most interesting and useful to the peasant readers. Almost every little town publishes one or two such journals, which strive to outvie each other in cheapness, and in the amount of interesting information compressed within their pages.

In the country villages it is often difficult for the peasants to obtain books. But means of supplying the demand are being discovered. Professor Frederick von Raumer informed me, that they were endeavouring to establish village libraries in connection with the schools, so as to provide the peasants with books for their evening reading. Wherever there is a demand there will always be a supply; and it will soon be a trade common to the German, Swiss, and Dutch villages, to keep village lending libraries for the peasants.

In the towns, where the poorer classes are even still more intelligent than in the country, it is not difficult for the poor to obtain books as well as papers. In the towns, therefore, of Germany and Switzerland, the poor read a great deal. Indeed, it will be hardly credible to English ears, when I inform them how the poor of these towns amuse and instruct themselves in their leisure hours, and during the long winter evenings. I was assured by Dr. Bruggeman, the Roman Catholic Counsellor in the Educational Office in Berlin, and by several teachers and other persons, that not only were the interesting works of German literature perused by the poorest people of the towns, but that translations of the works of Sir Walter Scott, and of many other foreign novelists and writers, were generally read by the poor.

I remember one day, when walking near Berlin in the company of Herr Hintz, a professor in Dr. Diesterweg's Normal College, and of another teacher, we saw a poor woman cutting up in the road logs of wood for winter use. My companions pointed her out to me, and said, "Perhaps you will scarcely believe it, but in the neighbourhood of Berlin, poor women, like that one, read translations of Sir Walter Scott's novels, and of many of the interesting works of your language, besides those of the principal writers of Germany." This account was afterwards confirmed by the testimony of several other persons.

Often and often have I seen the poor cabdrivers of Berlin, while waiting for a fare, amusing themselves by reading German books, which they had brought with them in the morning expressly for the purpose of sup-

plying amusement and occupation for their leisure hours.

In many parts of these countries, the peasants and the workmen of the towns, attend regular weekly lectures or weekly classes, where they practise singing or chanting, or learn mechanical drawing, history, or science.

As will be seen afterwards, women as well as men, girls as well as boys, enjoy in these countries the same advantages, and go through the same school education. The women of the poorer classes of these countries, in point of intelligence and knowledge, are almost equal to the men.

The intelligence of the poorer classes of these countries is shown by their manners. The whole appearance of a German peasant who has been brought up under this system, *i. e.* of any of the poor who have not attained the age of thirty-five years, is very different to that of our own peasantry. The German, Swiss, or Dutch peasant, who has grown up to manhood under the new system, and since the old feudal system was overthrown, is not nearly so often as with us distinguished by an uncouth dialect. On the contrary, they speak as their teachers speak, clearly, without hesitation, and grammatically. They answer questions politely, readily, and with the ease which shows that they have been accustomed to mingle with men of greater wealth and of better education than themselves. They do not appear embarrassed, still less do they appear gawkish or stupid, when addressed. If, in asking a peasant a question, a stranger, according to the polite custom of the country, raises his hat, the first words of

reply, are the quietly uttered ones, "I pray you, sir, be covered." A Prussian peasant is always polite and respectful to a stranger, but quite as much at his ease as when speaking to one of his own fellows.

2. *The prudential Habits of the Peasant Proprietors. — The General Diffusion of Education, combined with the Subdivision of the Land, tends very remarkably to increase the Prudence, Forethought, and Economy of the Poor.*

A poor man in Germany, France, Holland, and Switzerland is, from his education, intelligent enough to be able to calculate his chances. He knows, when he begins his life, that if he defers his marriage for some years, he will be able to save, and to acquire land. He knows that if he marries early in life, he cannot hope to save enough to enable him to buy a farm or a garden of his own, and that if he does not buy one, he will occupy a lower and less comfortable social position than his neighbours. The fact of so many of his friends possessing small estates of their own, and the pleasure of owning one himself, stimulates him with double ardour to seek to obtain a small plot of land also, and to consent to present self-denial for the sake of attaining this strongly desired end. The consequence is, that the poor of these countries do not marry nearly so early in life as the English poor, and do not consequently rear such large families. In some parts of Switzerland, as in the canton of Argovie for instance, a peasant never marries before he attains the age of twenty-five years, and generally much later in life; and in that canton the

women very seldom marry before they have attained the age of thirty. Indeed, so strongly do the people of Switzerland understand from experience the expediency of their sons and daughters postponing the time of their marriages, that the councils of state of four or five of the most democratic of the cantons, elected, be it remembered, by universal suffrage, have passed laws, by which all young persons, who marry before they have proved to the magistrate of their district that they are able to support a family, are rendered liable to a heavy fine. In Lucerne, Argovie, Unterwalden, and, I believe, St. Gall, Schweitz, and Uri, laws of this character have been in force for many years; but I mention them rather as symptoms, than as causes of the prudence and self-denial of the peasantry. Nor do the division of land and the cheapness of the mode of conveying it from one man to another encourage the providence of the labourers of the rural districts only. They act in the same manner, though, perhaps, in a less degree, upon the labourers of the smaller towns. In the smaller provincial towns, it is customary for a labourer to own a small plot of ground outside the town. This plot he cultivates in the evenings as his kitchen-garden. He raises in it vegetables and fruits for the use of his family during the winter. After his day's work is over, he and his family repair to the garden for a short time, which they spend in planting, sowing, weeding, or preparing for sowing or harvest, according to the season. The desire to become possessed of one of these gardens operates very strongly in strengthening prudential habits, and in restraining im-

provident marriages. Some of the manufacturers in the canton of Argovie told me that a townsman was seldom contented until he had bought a garden, or a garden and house, and that the town-labourers generally deferred their marriages for some years, in order to save enough to purchase either one or both of these luxuries.

I have no doubt in my own mind that the effect of the subdivision of land, after it has proceeded to such a length that the smallest of the estates is sufficient to support a peasant's family in comfort, but not large enough to support two average-sized families (and beyond this the subdivision will not proceed, as I shall show hereafter), is to retard the too rapid increase of population more than any scheme that could be invented, and to retard it in a thoroughly healthy manner.

Among our middle classes a young man will not generally marry as soon as he becomes his own master, if he perceives, that, by waiting, he will be able to secure for his wife and for himself a higher and more comfortable position in society. The hope of getting a larger or a more certain income operates among the middle classes in the majority of instances, by making a young man remain unmarried a few years, and sometimes many years, longer than he otherwise would do.

But among our lower classes no such thought interferes with marriage. As soon as a young peasant can earn his miserable pittance of from seven to nine shillings a week he marries, and thereby increases his own sufferings, and involves his poor young wife and

his family in the same pauperism with himself. What good, in the present state of our laws, would a peasant gain if he deferred his marriage? None which is perceptible to his understanding. He knows that, if he could save, he would not be able to make use of his little capital. He knows that all avenues of rising in the world in his own native village are closed to him. He knows that he must die in the same position in which it pleased God he should be born. Having therefore no incentive to self-denial, he practises none. He marries as soon as he can, and generally by so doing doubles his own difficulties and miseries, and soon increases the poor-rates of his parish.

But, abroad, the peasants know, that if they wait a few years and save, they and their future wives and families will be happier, more respected among their neighbours, and in a more comfortable position in the world, and that they will realise their day-dream, and call a small farm their own. It is not surprising, then, that the peasants do not marry so young in foreign countries as they do here and in Ireland.

Counseller Reichensperger, writing in the midst of the small proprietors of Prussia, says *: — "The desire to found a family is so strong an actuating principle in man's nature, that none but the most powerful considerations, such as the possibility of supporting a wife and children, can restrain the rapid increase of population. These considerations have a very different significance, according to the circumstances of the persons affected by them. Whilst the day-labourer or

* Die Agrarfrage.

operative considers a future family provided for, and therefore marries, when he can only reckon upon annual wages to the amount of from 80 to 100 thalers; the man in a better social position will see a hundred comforts and necessaries beyond what would have satisfied the poorer man, and without which he considers it impossible to secure a suitable income for himself and for his family. If he cannot see a certainty of securing such an income, and if he cannot calculate with certainty upon providing his children with a social position in life equal to his own, he will, as daily experience shows, forbear, at least for a time, to marry, or; at least, such considerations will not remain without influence upon the future greatness of his family.

"The egotistical wish of persons desirous of marrying not to sink into a lower social position, and the desire of parents to support their children respectably, form the most influential and the most legitimate obstacle to the ever-threatening danger of over population. These natural and honourable feelings almost always influence those, who have themselves experienced the value of possessions and of a social position, so as to protect them against too early marriages and against too numerous families.

"The day-labourer and operative, who have no possessions of their own except their own capability of working, are not affected by the healthy check which I have mentioned above. Every such person leaves his children, however many he may have, in a position similar to his own, and he therefore feels no moral impediment to the founding or increasing of his family,

although in reality, owing to the increasing competition of the labourers, the future wages will be lessened.

"It is these labourers, entirely without possessions, whether they live in the towns or in the country districts,—whether they are found in the factories or behind the plough,—who are the really dangerous members of society; since the increase in their numbers is restrained, not by the sufficiency or insufficiency of the means of subsistence, but only by the extent of their physical powers. The real ground of their dangerous character lies in their freedom from any moral restraint, caused by the hopelessness and poverty of their social position. The evils, with which the position of these classes threaten society, can only be avoided, by removing the helplessness and destitution of their social position.

"The simplest, most efficacious, and most legitimate means, by which to attain this great end, is to free landed property from all restrictions preventing its sale, and gradually, and by means of the natural sale of the lands, to enable the labourers to acquire property."

A. Thaer, in his "Englishen Landwirthshaft," p. 104., says, "The population will grow more rapidly on great estates than on small ones, because day-labourers are more thoughtless about their future than independent peasant proprietors, and, therefore, bring up larger families in the hope of being able to get them supported upon the estate."

Speaking of Geneva, Mr. Chadwick says*: — "It is

* Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, p. 175.

proved in a report of M. Edward Mallet, one of the most able that have been made from the registries of the city of Geneva, that the increase of the population of that city has been followed by an increase in the probable duration of life.

"The probabilities of the continuance of life in Geneva were, to every person born, —

	Yrs.	Mths.	Days.
Towards the end of the 16th century - -	8	7	26
In the 17th century - - - -	13	3	16
1701—1750 - - - -	27	9	13
1751—1800 - - - -	31	3	5
1801—1813 - - - -	40	8	0
1814—1833 - - - -	45	0	29

"The progression of the population, and the increased duration of life, had been attended by a progression in happiness. As prosperity advanced, *marriages became fewer and later;* the proportion of births were reduced; but greater numbers of the infants born were preserved, and the proportion of the population in manhood became greater.

"It is the practice in Geneva for female servants to delay marriage, until they have saved enough to furnish a house, &c. In illustration of this state of things, it is stated that, in 290 out of 956 marriages, *the female was at the time of marriage older than the male.* In the early and barbarous periods, the excessive mortality was accompanied by a prodigious fecundity. In the few last years of the seventeenth century a marriage still produced 5 children and more, the probable duration of life attained was not 20 years, and Geneva had

scarcely 17,000 inhabitants. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, there were scarcely 3 children to a marriage, and the probabilities of life exceeded 32 years. At the present time, a marriage only produces $2\frac{3}{4}$ children, the probability of life is 45 years, and Geneva, which exceeds 27,000 in population, has arrived at a high degree of civilisation and of 'prospérité materielle.' In 1836 the population appeared to have attained its summit: *the births rarely replaced the deaths.*"

Professor Vulliemin, in his statistical account of the canton of Vaud, where all the land is divided into small estates, says, that the mean ages of the persons married in the canton of Vaud from 1837 to 1841, were as follows: —

Years.		Yrs.	Mths.	Days.
1837	Men	30	10	12
	Women	27	11	9
1838	Men	32	1	8
	Women	28	2	29
1839	Men	30	9	14
	Women	28	4	12
1840	Men	31	6	10
	Women	28	3	17
1841	Men	31	6	2
	Women	27	3	24

As the peasants of this canton are better educated and more prosperous than those of almost any other country in the world, the advanced age at which they marry is peculiarly significant.

One of the manufacturers of Argovie, in speaking to me of the effects of the subdivision of property upon the prudential habits of the town and country poor,

said, "the men never marry before the age of twenty-five, and often later; and it is a curious fact, that they generally choose for their wives, women who have attained the age of thirty, in preference to younger ones, because they imagine the women of thirty will be more thrifty and better managers."

In 1843, 4680 marriages were celebrated in Prussia, between persons, of whom, either the man or the woman was more than 45 years old. In the same year, 26,836 marriages were celebrated, where the man was more than 45 and the woman less than 45 years of age, or where the woman was more than 30 and the man less than 60; 21,138 men were married, each of whom was more than 30 and less than 35 years of age, and 25,123 women, each of whom was more than 30 years of age.

Of all the persons married in Prussia in 1843, there were, —

131,737 men under 45 years of age.
7,273 men between 45 and 60 years of age.
1,444 men above 60 years of age.

111,396 women under 30 years of age.
25,123 women between 30 and 45 years of age.
3,935 women above 45 years of age.

We are not told the ages of the men, who married under 45 years of age, but it appears, that the majority of them married later in life, than their ancestors used to do, and that the customary age for marriage is gradually becoming later than it was formerly. I believe I am about right, when I state 35 to be the average age of marriage in Prussia.

In England, where there is so little intelligence, and, therefore, so little prudence or foresight, and so much

misery among the labourers, and where there are so few reasons to induce the peasants to postpone their marriage, the state of things is singularly different.

In England, in 1846, out of 24,356 men married to 24,356 women, —

596 men were under 20 years of age.
11,790 men were just 20 years of age.
6,467 men were just 25 years of age.
2,464 men were just 30 years of age.
1,180 men were just 35 years of age.
708 men were just 40 years of age.
455 men were just 45 years of age.
696 men were more than 45 years of age.

2,812 women were under 20 years of age.
12,470 women were just 20 years of age.
5,079 women were just 25 years of age.
1,849 women were just 30 years of age.
897 women were just 35 years of age.
596 women were just 40 years of age.
328 women were just 45 years of age.
425 women were more than 45 years of age.

These statistics show, that in Prussia, one man in every sixteen, who marry, is 45 years old, while in England, only one man in every twenty-one, who marry, is 45 years old, and nearly half of all the men married every year are not older than 20 years.

We thus see how much later the age of marriage is in Prussia than in England. This alone is an unanswerable proof of the greater prudence and prosperity of the people of Prussia; for it is always found, that, the greater the ignorance of the people, and the less the chance of their improving their condition by present self-denial, the earlier will be the age, at which they will enter into the married life.

Counsellor Reichensperger, writing in the midst of peasant proprietors, and comparing the results of the two systems, — the English system of great estates in few hands, with laws tending to prevent the peasants and small shopkeepers from obtaining land, and the German system of subdivision of land, and its freedom from all restraints upon its sale, — says* : —

" By the latter system it is possible for each person to obtain a plot of land of a size corresponding to his ability; and under it, the position of even a day-labourer is by no means one, without hope or capability of improvement; but it is rather one, which leads to the acquirement of property and independence, since the labourer, by economy and credit, may easily, under this system, manage to work his way to prosperity and comfort. Where the land is free from all shackles preventing its sale, this result may be seen daily; and it is by means of this system, that an approximate realisation is obtained, by indirect means, of the socialist idea of the division of goods according to the skill and deserts of the individual.

. . . . . .

The possibility of increasing the size of their little properties stimulates in the highest degree the activity and the progress of the prosperity of the peasants; for the landowner knows no more enviable possession than that of land, and *no stronger inducement to economy than the hope to purchase another acre and to increase his farm;* for he feels that the savings, which are put out at interest, are much less secure than those invested in land.

" But, for the peasant and day-labourer, this possi-

* Die Agrarfrage, 315.

bility of purchasing land, and of thus acquiring independence, is the *only possible inducement in his case to exertion and economy;* and this inducement urges him on much more surely, than all the alms and poor-rates of Great Britain can ever do. . . . .

"The contrary system of restriction of the subdivision of land renders the condition of the peasant labourers a hopeless one, while it destroys the natural freedom of both owners and peasants. The freedom of the land from these restrictions, and the industrious spirit which it stimulates, raise the moral character of the people, and, by so doing, exercise the most beneficial influence upon their health, their manners, and their whole mental habits. . . . . Where the land is divided into great estates, and kept out of the market by intricate settlements, we never see the prosperous and growing little proprietors, but only day-labourers, or, at best, small tenants at will, who never can feel any real or positive interest in the progressive improvement of the land, or in the prosperity of the state, but who dislike all labour which does not promise to themselves some immediate recompense. The hope, by industry and economy, and by the exercise of all their powers, to prepare a future independence for themselves and their families—this powerful inducement to the improvement of their own and of the public well-being—is unknown to the peasants, where the lands are consolidated in the hands of a few great proprietors, because they see no hope of ever acquiring an acre, or, by so doing, of making a step towards an independent position, which they might afterwards hope gradually

to improve by adding bit by bit to the first acquired possession.

"A population condemned in this way to eternal poverty and dependence on others, and deprived of all hope of a happier future, will know scarcely any other happiness than to devote to mere animal gratifications some few passing moments of their unhappy lifetime; and, by means of spirituous drinks, to forget the gnawing cares of the coming days, from the impending misery of which they cannot, by the greatest industry, save themselves. . . . These peasants are degraded in mind by their utter dependence upon the landlords. . . . . They are uncivilised, and scarcely capable of receiving any mental improvement, because this only goes hand in hand with the improvement of their physical condition; their bodies exhibit the effects of privations, and of the too frequent resort to their only solace of drinking, of which fact Ireland, and many parts of Great Britain, afford most lamentable instances.

"This peasant class, on account of its great poverty, is deprived of all comforts, and, as it consumes very few and very common articles of manufacture, offers no encouragement to the industry of the towns, and scarcely any market for their products."

Nor does the habit of marrying at a later period of life seem to necessarily increase the amount of immorality among the peasants. The statistics collected by the governments of Germany, Austria, Belgium, and France, show, that fewer illegitimate children are born in Prussia than in any other of the European countries.

From the statistics published by Mr. Porter, and by Herr Dieterici, it appears that there is, —

Illegitimate birth.		Legitimate births.
1 to every	-	$9\frac{3}{5}$ in Denmark,
1 „	-	8 in Austria,
1 „	-	4 in Bavaria,
1 „	-	9 in Mecklenburgh,
1 „	-	7 in Saxony,
1 „	-	$7\frac{1}{10}$ in Wirtemburg,
while there is only 1 to every		13 in Prussia.

There may be, doubtless, much immorality which these statistics do not show; but there is no sign which discloses its existence, to any great extent, to a traveller in the country.

The carefulness and eagerness to amass of the Swiss peasantry has become proverbial throughout Europe. Englishmen accuse them of sordid penuriousness, yet this is but the natural and healthy effect of that subdivision of land, which renders it possible for a saving and prudent peasant to make himself a proprietor. The gains of a Swiss, French, Prussian, Saxon, and Dutch labourer, instead of being expended in the ale-house, are added to the stock, which is one day to purchase the garden or the farm.

Mr. Mill says *: — "It is not to the intelligence alone, that the situation of a peasant proprietor is full of improving influences. *It is no less propitious to the moral virtues of prudence, temperance, and self-control.* The labourer who possesses property, whether he can read and write or not, has, as Mr. Laing remarks †, 'an educated

* Principles of Political Economy, vol. i. p. 332.

† Residence in Norway, p. 20.

mind; he has *forethought, caution,* and *reflection* guiding every action; he knows the value of restraint, and is in the constant habitual exercise of it.' It is remarkable how this general proposition is borne out, by the character of the rural population in almost every civilised country, where peasant properties are frequent. Day-labourers, where the labouring class mainly consists of them, are usually improvident; they spend carelessly to the full extent of their means, and let the future shift for itself. This is so notorious, that many persons, otherwise well affected to the labouring classes, hold it as a fixed opinion, that an increase of wages would do them little good, unless accompanied by at least a corresponding improvement in their tastes and habits. The tendency of peasant proprietors, and of those who hope to become proprietors, is to the contrary extreme, — to take even too much thought for the morrow. They are oftener accused of penuriousness than of prodigality. They deny themselves reasonable indulgences, and live wretchedly in order to economise. In Switzerland almost every one saves, who has any means of saving. The case of the Flemish farmers I have already mentioned" (see below). "Among the French, though a pleasure-loving and reputed to be a self-indulgent people, the spirit of thrift is diffused through the rural population" (all peasant proprietors) "in a manner most gratifying as a whole, and which, in individual instances, errs rather on the side of excess than defect. Among those who, from the hovels in which they live, and the herbs and roots which constitute their diet, are mistaken by travellers for proofs and specimens of general indi-

gence, there are numbers, who have hoards in leather bags, consisting of sums in five-franc pieces, which they keep by them a whole generation, unless brought out to be expended in their most cherished gratification — *the purchase of land.* If there is a moral inconvenience attached to a state of society in which the peasantry have land, it is the danger of their being too careful of their pecuniary concerns, — of its making them crafty and 'calculating' in the objectionable sense." . . . . . "But some excess in this direction is a small and a passing evil, compared with recklessness and improvidence in the labouring classes, and a cheap price to pay for the inestimable worth of the virtue of self-dependence, as the general characteristic of a people, — a virtue which is one of the first conditions of excellence in a human character — the stock on which, if the other virtues are not grafted, they have seldom any firm root —a quality indispensable, in the case of a labouring class, even to any tolerable degree of physical comfort, and by which the peasantry of France and of most European countries of peasant proprietors are distinguished beyond any other labouring population.

"Is it likely that a state of economical relations, so conducive to frugality and prudence in every other respect, should be prejudicial to it in the cardinal point of increase of population? . . . . . The true question is, supposing a peasantry to possess land not insufficient, but sufficient for their comfortable support, are they more or less likely to fall from this state of comfort through improvident multiplication, than if they were living in an equally comfortable manner as hired labourers? All

à priori considerations are in favour of their being less likely. The dependence of wages on population is a matter of speculation and discussion. That wages would fall if population were much increased, is often a matter of real doubt, and always a thing which requires some exercise of the reflecting faculty for its intelligent recognition. But every peasant can satisfy himself, from evidence which he can fully appreciate, whether his piece of land can be made to support several families in the same comfort in which it supports one. Few people like to leave to their children a worse lot in life than their own. The parent, who has land to leave, is perfectly able to judge whether the children can live upon it or not; but people who are supported by wages see no reason, why their sons should be unable to support themselves in the same way, and trust accordingly to chance. 'In even the most useful and necessary arts and manufactures,' says Mr. Laing*, 'the demand for labourers is not a seen, known, steady, and appreciable demand; but it is so in husbandry,' under small properties. 'The labour to be done, the subsistence which that labour will produce out of his portion of land, are seen and known elements in man's calculations upon his means of subsistence. Can his square of land, or can it not, subsist a family? can he marry or can he not? are questions which every man can answer without delay, doubt, or speculation.'"†

It is the having no hope and no opportunity of rising in the world, however provident and self-denying a man

* Notes of a Traveller, p. 46.

† Mill's Political Economy, i. p. 336.

may be, — it is the feeling that saving can do no good whatever, and that the workhouse will keep them from actual starvation, which is demoralising and pauperising our peasants, which is increasing the numbers of our population so considerably, and which is laying such a heavy poor-rate upon the backs of the already too heavily taxed middle classes.

No writer has ever been more keenly sensible of the injurious effects of over-population upon the labouring classes than Sismondi. It is one of the grounds of his earnest advocacy of peasant properties. He had ample opportunities, in more countries than one, for judging of their effect on population. Let us see his testimony*: "In the countries in which cultivation by small proprietors still continues, population increases regularly and rapidly, until it has attained its natural limits; that is to say, inheritances continue to be divided and subdivided among several sons, as long as by an increase of labour each family can extract an equal income from an equal portion of land. A father who possessed a vast extent of natural pasture, divides it among his sons, and they turn it into fields and meadows; his sons divide it among their sons, who abolish fallows. Each improvement in agricultural knowledge admits of another step in the subdivision of property. But there is no danger lest the proprietor should bring up his children to make beggars of them. He knows exactly what inheritance he has to leave them; he sees the limit beyond which this division would make them descend from the rank which he has himself filled; and

* Mill's Political Economy, vol. i. p. 338.

a just family pride, common to the peasant" proprietor "and to the nobleman, makes him abstain from summoning into life children for whom he cannot provide. If more are born, at least they do not marry, or they agree among themselves which of several brothers shall perpetuate the family. It is not found that, in the Swiss cantons, the patrimonies of the peasants are ever so divided, as to reduce them below what will afford an honourable competence, although the habit of foreign service, by opening to the children a career indefinite and incalculable, sometimes calls forth a superabundant population."*

Mr. Laing's testimony respecting the peasant proprietors of Norway is to the same effect. Though there is no law or custom of primogeniture in this country, and no manufactures to take off a surplus population, the subdivision of property is not carried to an injurious extent, and consequently the growth of population, beyond the number which the subdivided land will maintain, is checked. "'The division of the land among children,' says Mr. Laing†, 'appears, during the thousand years it has been in operation, not to have had the effect of reducing the landed properties to the minimum size that will barely support human existence. I have counted from five-and-twenty to forty cows upon farms, and that in a country in which the farmer must, for at least seven months in the year, have winter provender, and houses provided for all the cattle. It is evident that some cause or other, operating on the aggregation of

* Sismondi, Nouv. Princ., book iii. ch. 3.

† Residence in Norway, p. 18., quoted by Mr. Mill.

landed property, counteracts the dividing effects of partition among children. That cause can be no other than what I have long conjectured would be effective in such a social arrangement, viz. that in a country where land is held, not in *tenancy* merely, as in Ireland, but in full *ownership*, its aggregation, by the death of co-heirs, and by the marriage of female heirs among the body of landholders, will balance its subdivision by the equal succession of children. The whole mass of property will, I conceive, be found, in such a state of society, to consist of as many estates of the class of 1000*l.*, as many of 100*l.*, as many of 10*l.* a-year at one period as at another.' That this should happen, supposes diffused through society a very efficacious prudential check to population; and it is reasonable to give part of the credit of this prudential restraint to the peculiar adaptation of the peasant proprietary system for fostering it.

"But the experience, which most decidedly contradicts the asserted tendency of peasant-proprietorship to produce excess of population, is the case of France. In that country, the experiment is not tried in the most favourable circumstances, a large proportion of the properties being too small." (In France, the law compulsorily *divides* the greatest part of the estate of each proprietor at the time of his death. In the greatest part of Germany, I believe, the law simply prevents the proprietor entailing or tying up his property after his death, or making any disposition of it, which would prevent its being sold after his own death. The difference between these two systems is worthy of note.)

"The number of landed proprietors in France is not

exactly ascertained, but on no estimate does it fall much short of five millions; which, on the lowest calculation of the number of persons to a family (and for France it ought to be a low calculation), shows much more than half the population as either possessing, or entitled to inherit, landed property. A majority of the properties are so small as not to afford a subsistence to the proprietors, of whom, according to some computations, as many as three millions are obliged to eke out their means of support, either by working for hire, or by taking additional land, generally on metayer tenure. When the property possessed is not sufficient to relieve the possessor from dependence on wages, the condition of a proprietor loses much of its characteristic efficacy as a check to over-population; and if the prediction, so often made in England, had been realised, and France had become a 'pauper warren,' the experiment would even then have proved nothing, against the tendencies of the same system of agricultural economy in other circumstances. But what is the fact? That *the rate of increase of the French population is the slowest in Europe.*"

During the thirty years, which immediately followed the division of the enormous estates of the old French noblesse among the people, a great increase of population took place. But the rapidity of that increase was soon lessened, and a generation has now grown up which, having been born in improved circumstances, has acquired the habits and tastes of prosperity, and upon them the spirit of thrift operates most conspicuously, *in keeping the increase of population within the increase of national wealth.*

In the following tables, extracted from the work of Mr. Mill, from which I have been quoting, the rate of annual increase of population in several countries is given.

The first table is that taken from Professor Rau's work on the agriculture of the Palatinate.

	Years.	Per Cent.	
United States -	1820–30 -	2.92	
Hungary (according to Rohrer)	-	2.40	
England - -	1811–21 -	1.78	
Ditto - -	1821–31 -	1.60	
Austria (Rohrer) -	- -	1.30	
Prussia - -	1816–27 -	1.54	This was immediately after the system of peasant proprietors was first introduced into Prussia.
Ditto - -	1820–30 -	1.37	These two numbers show, that the annual rate of increase began to diminish, as soon as the subdivision of land had proceeded so far as to enable the peasants to acquire land.
Ditto - -	1821–31 -	1.27	
Netherlands -	1821–28 -	1.28	
Scotland - -	1821–31 -	1.30	
Saxony - -	1815–30 -	1.15	
Baden - -	1820–30 -	1.13	
Bavaria - -	1814–28 -	1.08	
Naples - -	1814–24 -	0.83	
France - -	1817–27 -	0.63	According to Mathieu.
		0.5	According to Moreau de Jonnès.

The very slow rate of increase in France so early as 1817, *i. e.* only about seventeen years after the French peasants had begun to acquire land, is very remarkable.

The second table is given by M. Quetelet*, and differs, as Mr. Mill observes, in some items, from the

* Sur l'Homme et le Développement de ses Facultés, tome i. c. 7.

preceding, probably from the author's having taken in those cases an average of different years.

	Increase of Population. Per Cent.	
Ireland	2.45	
Hungary	2.40	
Spain	1.66	
England	1.65	
Rhenish Russia	1.33	
Austria	1.30	
Bavaria	1.08	
Netherlands	0.94	
Naples	0.83	
France	0.63	
Sweden	0.58	
Lombardy	0.45	Here all the land is divided among the peasants.

The third table is from M. Legoyt*, and brings up the results for France to the census of the year 1846.

	Increase of Population. Per Cent.
Great Britain (exclusive of Ireland)	1.95
Prussia	1.84
Saxony	1.45
Norway	1.36
Sardinia	1.08
Holland	0.90
Austria	0.85
Sweden	0.83
France	0.68
Wirtemburg	0.01

It will be seen, in all these tables, that France, where the law not only allows, but actually to a certain extent *forces*, the subdivision of property, *the increase of population is slower than that of almost every other country in Europe.* Nor is this result caused by any excess of

* Journal des Economistes for May, 1847.

deaths in France, for in another table, given by M. Legoyt, it is shown, that the excess per cent. of births over deaths is annually *twice as great in Great Britain*, even exclusive of Ireland, as it is in France!

Mr. Mill says, "I am not aware of a single authentic instance which supports the assertion, that rapid multiplication is promoted by peasant properties."*

Wherever I travelled in North Germany and Switzerland, I was assured by all, that the desire to obtain land, which was felt by all the peasants, was acting as the strongest possible check upon the undue increase of population.

"In England," as Mr. Mill most truly observes, "where the labourer has no investment for his savings but the savings' bank, and no position to which he can rise by any exercise of economy, except, perhaps, that of a petty shopkeeper, with its chances of bankruptcy, there is nothing at all resembling the intense spirit of thrift, which takes possession of one who, being a day-labourer, can raise himself, by saving, to the condition of a landed proprietor." . . . . . The hope of buying a piece of land, he continues to observe, "is the most powerful of inducements, to those who are without land, to practise the industry, frugality, and self-restraint, on which their success in this object of rational ambition is dependent. In Flanders, according to Mr. Fauché, the British consul at Ostend, 'farmers' sons, and those who have the means to become farmers, will delay their marriage until they get possession of a farm.' Once a farmer, the next object

* Principles of Economy, vol. i.

is to become a proprietor. 'The first thing a Dane does with his savings,' says Mr. Browne, the consul at Copenhagen, 'is to purchase a clock, then a horse and cow, which he hires out, and which pay good interest. Then his ambition is to become a petty proprietor; and *this class of persons is better off than any in Denmark.* Indeed, I know no people in any country, who have more easily within their reach all that is really necessary for life than this class, which is very large in comparison with that of labourers.'

"As the result of this inquiry into the direct operation, and indirect influences, of peasant properties, I conceive it to be established, that there is no necessary connection between this form of landed property, and an imperfect state of the arts of production; that it is favourable in quite as many respects as it is unfavourable to the most effective use of the powers of the soil; that no other existing state of agricultural *economy has so beneficial an effect on the industry, the intelligence, the frugality, and prudence of the population, nor tends, on the whole, so much to discourage an improvident increase of their numbers;* and that no other, therefore, is, on the whole, so favourable, in the present state of their education, both to their moral and their physical welfare." *

It was by introducing the system of small properties, that the great ministers of Prussia, Stein and Hardenburg, raised the peasants of Prussia and Prussian Poland, from a state precisely analogous to that of the Irish peasantry in the present day, to their present happy and flourishing condition. It is this system which, as I have

* Principles of Political Economy, vol. i. p. 346.

before shown, has raised the condition of the Saxon peasants so much above that of their neighbours, the Bohemians; which has raised the French *peasants* from that wretched condition in which all writers of the time of Louis XV. declare them to have been then sunk, to their present prosperous, tranquil, and conservative status in society; and which has made the Dutch and Swiss Protestant peasants what all writers represent them now to be, viz., intensely industrious, self-denying, and prosperous. It is the existence of a precisely opposite system, which is the principal cause of the miseries, turbulence, and bad cultivation of Ireland; and, in the opinion of all continental thinkers, it is to the repeal of all laws preventing the sale and division of land in Ireland, that we can alone look for any radical improvement in the condition of the peasants of that country. The character of a people is dependent only upon surrounding institutions and circumstances. No people are naturally depraved. If we wish to raise the character of Irishmen, we must change, and that radically, the institutions of Ireland.

The description of the parish of Montreux, near Vevay, on the Lake of Geneva, given by Mr. Laing*, is a fair illustration of the manner, in which small farms and diffused intelligence tend to foster the prudential habits of the peasants of Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. That intelligent writer says, "the parish of Montreux is divided into three communes or administrations. In that in which I am lodged, Veytaux, there is not a single pauper, although there is an accu-

* See his Notes of a Traveller.

mulated poor-fund; and the village thinks itself sufficiently important to have its post-office, its fire-engine, and its watchman; and it has a landed population around. . . . .

"The parish is one of the best-cultivated and most productive vineyards in Europe, and is divided in very small portions among a great body of small proprietors. What is too high up the hill for vines is in orchard, hay, and pasture-land. There is no manufacture, and no chance work going on in the parish. These small proprietors, with their sons and daughters, work on their own land, know exactly what it produces, what it costs them to live, and whether the land can support two families or not. Their standard of living is high, as they are proprietors. They are well lodged, their houses well furnished, and they live well, although they are working men. I lived with one of them two summers successively. This class of the inhabitants would no more *think of marrying without means to live in a decent way*, than any gentleman's sons or daughters in England; and indeed less, because there is no variety of means of living, as in England. It must be altogether out of the land. The class below them, again, the mere labourers or village tradesmen, are under a similar economical restraint, — which it is an abuse of words to call a moral restraint. The quantity of work, which each of the small proprietors must hire, is a known and filled-up demand, not very variable. There is no corn-farming, little or no horse-work, and the number of labourers and tradesmen, who can live by the work and custom of the other class, is as fixed and known as the

means of living of the landowners themselves. There is no chance living — no room for an additional house, even, for this class, because the land is too valuable and minutely divided to be planted with a labourer's house, if his labour be not necessary. All that is wanted, is supplied; and until a vacancy naturally opens, in which a labourer and his wife could find work and house-room, he cannot marry. The economical restraint is thus quite as strong among the labourers, as among the class of proprietors. Their standard of living, also, is necessarily raised by living and working all day along with a higher class. They are clad as well, females and males, as the peasant proprietors. The costume of the canton is used by all. This very parish might be cited as an instance of the restraining powers of property, and of the habits, tastes, and standard of living, which attend a wide diffusion of property among a people, on their own over-multiplication. It is a proof that a division of property by a law of succession different in principle from the feudal, *is the true check upon over-population.*"

This is a fair picture of three fourths of the parishes of Holland, Prussia, Saxony, and the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. There can be no doubt whatever, that the great intelligence of the lower orders, joined to the system of small estates, which puts it within the power of a peasant, who can exercise present self-denial, to become a proprietor, conduce in forming the strongest of all possible checks upon improvident marriages, and upon the too rapid growth of population. The following account of the Belgian peasant farmers, by Mr. Nicholls, late one of the Poor Law Commissioners,

and now one of the two secretaries of the Poor Law Board, applies with equal truth to the educated peasant farmers of Holland, Switzerland, and Germany. "The labour of the field, the management of the cattle, the preparation of manure, the regulating the rotation of crops, and the necessity of carrying a certain portion of the produce to market, call for the constant exercise of industry, skill, and foresight among the Belgian peasant farmers; and to these qualities they add a rigid economy, habitual sobriety, and a contented spirit, which finds its chief gratification beneath the domestic roof, from which the father of the family rarely wanders in search of excitement abroad. It was most gratifying to observe the comfort displayed in the whole economy of the households of these small cultivators, and the respectability in which they lived. As far as I could learn, there was no tendency to the subdivision of the small holdings. I heard of none under five acres held by the class of peasant farmers; and six, seven, or eight acres is the more common size. *The provident habits of these small farmers enable them to maintain a high standard of comfort, and are necessarily opposed to such subdivision. Their marriages are not contracted so early as in Ireland,* and the consequent struggle for subsistence among their offspring does not exist. The proprietors of the soil retain the free and unrestricted disposal of their property, whether divided into smaller or larger holdings."*

The effects of this system are also visible in the

* Inquiry into the Condition of the Poor in Holland and Belgium, p. 166.

small number of beggars to be seen in most parts of North Germany, and of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. In Saxony and the Protestant provinces of Prussia this is particularly remarkable. It is very rarely indeed that a traveller in these countries ever sees a badly clothed person, or is ever accosted by a mendicant. Even Mr. M'Culloch, the able and decided opponent of the system of peasant proprietors, in speaking of the state of the poor of Switzerland, says*, "In most instances the communes have poor-funds administered independently of the cantonal government" (*i. e.* funds which are generally the collections of private charity); "but if these are not sufficient a poor-rate is levied. *This rate is always limited, being, in Zurick, no more than* $2\frac{1}{2}$*d. a-year from each individual.* The number of poor *appears to be on the decrease; and it is only in Uri, Tessin, Valais, and one or two other cantons, that pauperism is at all common.*"

In the canton of Berne about 250,000*l.*† was paid in the year 1840 in relief of the poorer classes; but this sum included all that the canton disbursed in the same year in the cantonal hospitals, in some of the schools for poor children, and in grants to assist those peasants, who had lost property by inundations and sudden accidents. When this is deducted, it is apparent that no great sum was expended in that year in the relief of actual pauperism, even in the canton of Berne with its 400,000 inhabitants. The following facts will give some further idea of the small amount of pauperism in

* Geog. Dict., title Switzerland.

† I believe this is about the average yearly expenditure in this canton.

those parts of Switzerland, where the land is subdivided, and where the people are well educated; as compared with the amount of pauperism in England.

In 1834 the population of the canton of Vaud was about 180,000. In that year about 1*s.* 3*d.* a head, upon the whole population of the canton, was expended in the relief of the poor, whilst in England, in the same year, without reckoning all the enormous sums expended in the same way from private sources, more than 6,000,000*l.* raised by the poor-rates, were expended in relieving the poor, or about 9*s.* a-head on the whole population! In that year, therefore, in a given number of people, there was about seven times more pauperism in England than in the same number of people in the canton of Vaud.

In 1834, in the canton of Vaud, each person in the receipt of public funds received upon the average 1*l.* In five parishes of the canton, there was no person in receipt of public assistance. More than half of the families, who were assisted, received less than 13*s.* each, so that, as Professor Vulliemin says, these families, with a very small increase of earnings, or with a very small decrease of expenditure, were able to support themselves.

Herr Pupikofer, in speaking of pauperism in the canton of Thurgovie, says* :—"One finds scarcely anywhere in this canton great poverty. The number of paupers is very small. Whoever will work may find employment. The wages of labourers rise. The occu-

* Gemälde der Schweitz. Thurgau.

pations and industry of the people increase. Agriculture is becoming more productive and profitable. The people are well clothed. They build better houses. They have more food and drink than they require."

In the canton of Argau, in 1839, the funds expended in the relief of paupers amounted to about *eight-pence* per head, on the whole population of the canton. In 1841, in England, when there was less pauperism, than in almost any preceding year, the expenditure per head in Wiltshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Sussex, Essex, and Dorsetshire amounted to between 9*s.* 6*d.* and 10*s.* per head upon the population of those counties; while the expenditure of the kingdom upon pauperism, in 1841, amounted to 6*s.* 2*d.* per head upon the whole population, and this, be it remembered, exclusive of all the immense sums expended by private charity, for the relief of the destitution of our labourers. In truth, there is no country in Europe, which expends a tithe of the enormous sums, which are sunk by the unions and by private charity in England, in the vain endeavour to stop the increase of a pauperism, which our own legislation is fostering.

3. *The Education of the Poor and the Division of the Land encourage virtuous and temperate Habits among the People*

The peasants of Western Europe know, that it is possible to rise in the social scale by industry, economy, and self-denial. Their life, even during the period of self-

denial, is a life of exciting, hopeful exertion. The consciousness that it is possible to succeed, keeps their eyes fixed upon the future, makes them forget the privations of the present, and saves them from the necessity of resorting to many of those immoral excesses, to which hopeless men too often resort, in order therewith to drown their sorrow, or to supply an excitement, which their daily life does not afford.

A German, Swiss, Dutch, or French peasant, who has not yet purchased a farm, feels that every farthing, which is expended in sensual gratification, is so much deducted from the accumulating fund which is one day to procure the coveted garden or farm; and when he has purchased his piece of land, he feels so strongly interested in improving his own property, that he spends upon it every thing, which is not absolutely required for the support of himself or his family. He knows it is a safe investment, and that he must reap the fruits of the outlay if he lives, as he stands in no risk of being made to quit his property, unless he himself voluntarily sells, in which case his outlay, if a wise one, will increase the price of the land. So that, in any case, he feels safe and interested in expending all his spare savings upon the land; and many are the mere sensual gratifications, which such a man denies himself, in order to be able to improve his estate. It is impossible to over-estimate the moral benefits of a system, which offers land to the peasants, if they will but be prudent, self-denying, and industrious. Instances of drunkenness are, comparatively speaking, rare in Germany. I was often assured by the

teachers and members of the middle classes in Germany, that their poorer classes were seldom guilty of intoxication. During the whole of my travels through Germany, I never saw more than one drunken man, and he was considered such a singular spectacle, that a German, whom I did not know, came up to me and pointed him out, as a curious sight that I might not soon witness again.

The effect of the school discipline upon the people of the towns is little less remarkable, than the effect of education and the small estate system upon the people of the rural districts. The educational systems of Western Europe have, for the last twenty-five years, successively removed all the juvenile population from the street life, which thousands of the poor children of our towns lead; have accustomed them from their earliest years to habits of cleanliness, of neat dressing, and of politeness; and have secured their training in various kinds of manly exercises, and their instruction in religion and in useful knowledge. They grow up under influences so strangely different to those, under which the juvenile population of our towns grow up, that the results in the two cases could not but be strangely different also. In cleanliness, dress, manners, mode of speaking, and dialect, the inhabitants of the towns of North Germany, Holland, and the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, are greatly superior to our town poor. I will not say that in the towns abroad, there are no men and women, who are as rude and uncultivated as the majority of our town labourers are; but that such instances are comparatively rare in the countries of which I am writing.

The great majority of the town workmen are such as I have described; and when the old class of workmen have died, and when the present systems of education have been at work some few years longer, even these exceptions to the description I have given will disappear; while it will be then possible to draw the description itself in still brighter colours than at present. Everything is progressing towards this result.

The difference between the condition of the juvenile population of these countries and of our own may be imagined, when I inform my readers, that many of the boys and girls of the higher classes of society in these countries are educated at the same desks, with the boys and girls of the poorest of the people, and that children comparable with the class, which attends our "ragged schools" are scarcely ever to be found. How impossible it would be to induce our gentry to let their children be educated with such children, as frequent the "ragged schools," I need not remind my readers.

4. *The Education of the People and the Division of the Land foster Respect for Property.*

This is curiously proved in several ways. A traveller in these countries will never see anywhere trespass sign-boards, or high orchard-walls, or chained yard-dogs, but he will see the road-side hedges in Germany and Switzerland planted thickly, and for miles along, with rich fruit-trees, the property of those, who own the adjoining lands. I have driven for miles between rows of cherry and apple-trees, laden with fruit, which any passer-by could have gathered with the greatest ease,

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but which flourished there untouched even by a schoolboy. In the immediate vicinity of Zurick, Zug, and other large towns throughout Switzerland and Germany, the rich apple, pear, and cherry-trees grow in this manner within a mile of the commencement of the streets. Within the same distance of the towns I have seen the orchards unfenced and totally unprotected; without even a railing round them, close by the public road, and filled with fruit-trees laden with fruit, which was ripening in perfect security.

To be able to cultivate orchards in the hedges in this manner is a very great advantage, inasmuch as it is a great economy of space. The farmers of these countries are thus able to turn even the hedges to a very good account, wherever hedges exist. Moreover, fruit-trees flourish remarkably well in such situations, as they get a good deal of rich soil about their roots, and as they do not keep the sun and dry air from one another so much as they do when crowded together in an orchard.

It is very seldom, however, that hedges are to be seen in foreign countries separating the fields from one another. The small proprietors are much too economical of space, and much too hostile to vermin, to leave from three to four yards in breadth, along each side of a field, occupied by a high bank of the richest soil, and filled with rats, mice, rabbits, and game.

But where hedges are necessary to divide the fields from the road, there they are generally used as I have described.

Another curious proof of the respect of the people for one another's property, is to be found in the con-

dition of the gardens of the poor near the towns. These gardens are cultivated very richly, and are always full of produce, and are as near to the entrances of the towns as land can be purchased. They are often close to the public roads, and lie undefended, except by a wooden railing, sufficient to keep out stray cattle. Any one could easily enter them at night, and carry off what he wanted; but they lie there perfectly secure, because all the poor are interested in protecting one another's property, as each one feels, that he or his relations have property which require protection.

When a man has once become a proprietor himself, or when one of his relations has become a proprietor, he speedily finds out, how necessary it is to defend the rights of property. When a man has once acquired this feeling, he has made a great step in civilisation; and the division of land teaches the lower classes this truth, better than any other method can do.

The small estates of the different peasant proprietors are only marked out by stones, or by a deeply-ploughed furrow. Each peasant respects his neighbour's landmarks, because he wishes to have his own respected. This reason, or the expectation of becoming a proprietor some day, restrains every one from trampling upon, stealing from, or injuring in any manner his neighbour's property.

Mr. Howitt, writing of Germany, says*, "Long rows of trees on each side of the roads are all that divide them from the fields; and in the South these are generally fruit-trees."

* Rural Life in Germany, p. 7.

Speaking of the country between Mannheim and Heidelberg, he says, "far and wide, the country, without a single fence, and covered with corn and vegetables, presented, as seen from the heights which bounded it, a most singular appearance to an English eye. Its predominating colour, at that time of the year, was that of ripening corn, but of different hues, according to its different degrees of richness, and the different kinds of grain. This is not planted in those vast expanses, which you see in the corn-farms of Northumberland and Lincolnshire, but in innumerable small patches and narrow stripes, because belonging to many different proprietors. Some is also sown in one direction, and some in another, with patches of potatoes, mangel-wurzel, kidney-beans, &c., amongst it, so that it presents to the eye the appearance of one of those straw table-mats of different colours which one has seen.

"Here and there we saw villages lying in the midst of the corn plain, and large woods, but not a hedge, and few scattered trees, the long rows of those marking out the highways being the only dividing lines of the country. As we passed these trees, we observed that they were principally apple, pear, plum, cherry, and walnut trees. One could not help feeling, how those trees would be plundered in England, being set, as it were, by the very road for that purpose; and, indeed, here thorns fastened round the boles, and stuck between the branches of the cherry trees where the fruit was ripening, spoke clearly of marauders. Fruit of all kinds was in abundance, and the heavy crops that are common here were indicated by the contrivances to prevent the

branches being rent off. Some had their main branches held together by strong wooden clamps, and others were propped with various poles; others, especially the plum-trees, had their boughs tied up and supported by ropes of chesnut bark. Some of these slips of bark were so low that mischievous urchins, if so disposed, could easily have cut them."

In France, where the land is very much divided among the peasants, and where education is very widely diffused among all classes, the feeling of respect for property seems to be very strong among the poorest of the country people. Mr. Laing says*, "The French are, I believe, a more honest people than the British. The beggar, who is evidently hungry, respects the fruit upon the road-side within his reach, although there is nobody to protect it. *Property is much respected in France;* and, in bringing up children, this fidelity towards the property of others seems much more carefully inculcated by parents in the lowest class, in the home education of their children, than with us."

In England it is generally difficult, if not impossible, to protect the gardens, orchards, and fields in the neighbourhood of our towns from trespassers and thieves. In Germany and Switzerland this difficulty is scarcely known: property is much more secure, because it is much more diffused. I often remarked to my German and Swiss fellow-travellers, on passing the orchards and gardens undivided from the road by even a hedge, "If those trees were in England they would be sur-

* Notes of a Traveller, p. 54.

rounded by a high wall; why is such a defence unnecessary with you?" The answer invariably was, "With us, almost every one is either a possessor of property, or has some relation or friend who is a possessor; and, whichever is the case, he feels himself equally interested in discouraging trespasses and robberies, and in defending the rights of his neighbours, that they may likewise be induced to defend the rights of himself or his friends."

The boys and children are under such constant and such excellent surveillance, that, while every opportunity is allowed them for enjoying all the pastimes of childhood, scarce any opportunity is given them for the commission of crime; so that the depredations and trespasses, which are so often committed in our country by the idle young, are, comparatively speaking, unknown in Germany and Switzerland.

This respect for property — the distinguishing feature of countries, where the land is subdivided among the peasants — is not confined to the rural districts, or mere provincial towns of those countries; it operates quite as strongly in their manufacturing districts. I have already mentioned the case of Zurick, which, with its suburbs, forms a large manufacturing district. The beautiful order and perfect security of the unguarded orchards and gardens in the suburbs of this town, and throughout all the manufacturing districts of the canton, are very remarkable. The same may be said of the manufacturing districts of the canton of Argovie, of the suburbs of almost all the towns of Switzerland, and of the suburbs of the towns in the manufacturing districts in Prussia. Neither the broken fences and trees, nor the trodden

turf, nor the broken gates and stiles, nor the ruined hedges, nor the general marks of mischief and traces of ruthless depredation, nor the high walls and defences intended to resist the ingress of depredators,—all which signs so sadly deface the country districts around most of our manufacturing towns, — are to be seen near the manufacturing towns of Prussia or Switzerland. Property is as secure in the vicinity of these towns, as it is in the more rural districts; the farms and unfenced gardens look as neat and as orderly, the orchards are as safe, the land is in as good condition, and the general appearance of the country is as flourishing, as it is in districts which are separated by distance from the multitudes of cities.

5. *The Education of the Peasants and the Division of the Land tend very greatly to improve the Cultivation of the Land.*

It is a common error in England to confound small tenants-at-will, holding little bits of land under and at the will of a landlord, who can turn them out when it pleases him, with *owners* of small estates.

When any one in England talks of peasant proprietors being always prosperous, wherever they are to be found, people point to Ireland, and say, "Well, but look at the wretched state of the poor tenants in Ireland!"

But the poor Irish are not *proprietors*. There is the greatest possible difference between the social and moral effects of small estates, *belonging* to the persons dwelling upon them, and of small pieces of land held by tenants at the will of a landlord. The peasant

proprietor knows that every penny of his family's earnings, which he expends upon his land, is safely invested. He is not scared from laying out money on improvements, by the fear lest a landlord—or the agent or bailiff of a landlord—should step in and turn him out of possession, before he has reaped the return for his expenditure. On the contrary, he knows that his land is his own, until he chooses to sell it, and that, consequently, every hour's labour, and every extra penny spent upon his little plot of land, will benefit either himself or his children.

This is the great distinction between peasants like the Irish, renting small plots of land as tenants, dependent upon the will of a landlord, or, still oftener, of the sub-agent of a landlord, and uncertain how long they will be allowed to hold the land, and small proprietors like the German, Dutch, Norwegian, Danish, Swiss, and French peasantry, who own their little plots, who are certain of continuing in possession and enjoyment of them, as long as they live, or until they choose to sell them, and who know, that either they themselves or their children will derive the benefits and returns of every improvement and outlay, which they make upon their estates.

The Irish tenant is not willing to spend time or money in the improvement of his holding, for he does not feel sure, that he will derive the benefit of such improvement. He is not much interested in the good cultivation of his land, for he knows that it is quite uncertain how long he will be allowed to retain it in his possession. The land is not his own, and does

not inspire him with that interest in its improvement which the feeling of *ownership* always conveys. He does not know how soon the rent may be raised so as to compel him to abandon his possession. If the present agent is a kind and just man, the peasant lessee does not know how soon another agent may be appointed in his place of a different character, who would compel him to desert his improvements and outlay by unfairness or exaction. The Irish peasant's feeling is: The land is not mine; it may not be in my possession long; it is quite uncertain how soon some unforeseen accident may deprive me of it; I do not care to improve it and take care of it for the sake of my landlord; I feel no further interest in it than just to get every pennyworth out of it I can, at the smallest outlay possible.

A small *proprietor's* situation is altogether different. He feels the same kind of interest in his little property which a gentleman does in his park, but in a higher degree, because the peasant proprietor feels more acutely than the other that the subsistence of himself and his family depends entirely upon the produce of the land. He is urged to improve the condition of his farm to the uttermost, because he knows that the more he improves it, the better will be his means of supporting his family, and the greater the comfort, happiness, and respectability of his wife and children. He knows that he or his children are *certain* to reap the benefit of every extra hour's labour, and of every extra pound spent upon the farm. He feels, too, a kind of pride in making his land look better than, or at least as well cultivated as, his neighbour's, and in thus showing off his own skill and

science. He is better acquainted with every square yard of his estate, and with all its wants and requirements, than a great proprietor is with each field on his estate. He turns every square yard to some use or other, knowwing that the greater his produce the more comfortable will be his position. While the great proprietor would laugh at being so particular as to grumble at the waste of square yards of territory, as the rich man laughs at the economy of a penny, the peasant proprietor endeavours to turn every morsel of his property to some account. He looks with interest on each little portion of his estate, and devotes to its cultivation as much energy and care as is spread, so to speak, over a tenfold greater surface by the great proprietor. This is one of the reasons why, as I shall show in the sequel, the *gross* produce of a piece of land cultivated by a number of peasant proprietors is found to be always much greater, than the *gross* produce of an equal quantity of land cultivated by one great proprietor.

Reichensperger, in his "Die Agrarfrage," has devoted a great part of one chapter to explain the great difference between the situations of the Irish labourer, and the German peasant proprietor. He shows very powerfully, that while the latter has every possible motive for exercising economy, and for deferring his marriage, in order first to save funds for the purchase of his farm, and afterwards to save time and funds for its cultivation; while he is intensely interested in the improvement of the farm which *belongs* to himself, and does not hesitate to expend his savings and labour upon it; while his dress, food, and house are all good and im-

proving; and while his position is one of comfort, independence, and security; the Irish labourer is entirely dependent upon the will of an agent or a landlord; that he feels no temptation to save, or to expend his savings upon his land, as he does not know how long it may be in his possession; that he has no inducement to defer marriage, as he knows that he cannot attain a better social position by so doing, as all he can hope for is to become the tenant-at-will of some small plot of ground; that his house, his dress, and his manner of living, are utterly wretched and barbarous, owing almost entirely to that demoralising sense of the hopelessness of his situation, which has reduced him to this condition; that he lives on the lowest and poorest kind of food; and that the next step below him is famine and death!

Kraus, another German writer on the subject of agriculture, says *, "The small proprietor, who knows intimately every spot and corner of his little estate, who regards it with all that interest, which property in land, and especially in a small piece of land, always inspires, and who finds an actual pleasure and enjoyment in not only cultivating but in beautifying it; he it is, who of all farmers and landowners, is the most industrious, the most intelligent, and the most successful in improving the cultivation of his estate."

I do not wish to insinuate by anything that I say in this work, that great estates are *necessarily* evils, and the effects of bad legislation. Nothing could be further

* Quoted by Reichensperger in his "Die Agrarfrage," p. 79.

from my thoughts. What I hope to prove is; 1st, that it is a very great evil, that the small shopkeepers and peasants of any country should be *prevented* by the laws from acquiring land; and that such is the result of our legislation in Great Britain and Ireland; and 2ndly, that to free land from all regulations preventing its sale or transmission from man to man, is to enable the peasants and small shopkeepers to acquire, and by enabling them to do this, to stimulate their habits of prudence and economy, to strengthen their conservative feelings, to make their life more hopeful and healthy, to reduce very considerably the amount of pauperism and immorality, among the lower classes of society, *and to increase very considerably the productiveness of the land itself.*

To prevent the upper classes of society acquiring more than a certain fixed quantity of land, or wealth of any kind, would be to destroy one of the most powerful inducements to energy, industry, intelligence, and conservative circumspection, and to introduce a system of fraud and chicanery, — for any such attempt would be often evaded by one of those latter methods. But although this is true, still it must be confessed, that there is a mean, between the extreme measure of preventing the upper classes acquiring more than a certain quantity of land, and the other extreme, of preventing the small shopkeepers and peasants acquiring any land at all. It is this mean which I am going to consider, such as it exists in Germany.

I do not deny that a greater amount of produce may be obtained, in proportion to the capital and labour em-

ployed in production, upon a large than upon a small *leasehold* farm.

But there can be no doubt that five acres, the *property* of an intelligent peasant, who farms it himself, in a country, where the peasants have learned to farm, will always produce much more per acre, than an equal number of acres will do when farmed by a mere *leasehold* tenant. In the case of the peasant proprietor, the increased activity and energy of the farmer, and the deep interest he feels in the improvement of his land, which are always caused by the fact of *ownership*, more than compensate the advantage arising from the fact, that the capital required to work the large farm is less in proportion to the quantity of land cultivated, than the capital required to work the small farm. In the cases of a large farm and of a small farm, the occupiers of which are both tenants of another person, and not owners themselves, it may be true, that the produce of the large farm will be greater in proportion to the capital employed in cultivation, than that of the small farm; and that, therefore, the farming of the larger farm will be the most economical, and will render the largest rent to the landlord.

But even in this case, viz., where the occupiers are both tenants and not owners, it is too often forgotten, that the want of small farms deprives the peasants of all hope of improving their condition in life, cuts away the next step in the social ladder, deprives them of all inducement to exercise self-denial, habits of saving and foresight, or active exertion, exceedingly pauperises and demoralises them, very greatly increases

the local poor-rates and the county-rates, and in this way very often deprives the farmers of more than all the extra gains, which they would otherwise derive from the more economical system of large farms.

So that, even in the case of *tenant* farmers, I am certain, — and the reports upon Flemish husbandry bear me out in this assertion, — that the system of small farming is the most moral and civilising, if it is not also the most economical system, for a country to pursue.

Reichensperger, himself an inhabitant of that part of Prussia, where the land is the most subdivided, has published a long and very elaborate work to show the admirable consequences of a system of freeholds in land. He expresses a very decided opinion, that not only are the *gross* products of any given number of acres, held and cultivated by small or peasant proprietors, greater, than the *gross* products of an equal number of acres, held by a few great proprietors, and cultivated by tenant farmers, but that the *net* products of the former, after deducting all the expenses of cultivation, are also greater than the *net* products of the latter. He thinks that this result is to be attributed to the following causes: —

1. The extraordinary interest, which the small proprietor feels in his little estate. It is this which makes himself and every member of his family not only willing, but desirous, to devote every leisure moment, and every hour of day-light, to the improvement and cultivation of his plot of ground, and which urges him to avail himself of every little circumstance, which can by any possibility increase the productiveness of his land, and

which, in minute care, in cleanliness, in economy of ground, and of contrivances, and in beauty of appearance, raises his farming to the perfection of garden cultivation.

2. The extraordinary pains which are always taken by peasant proprietors to collect, prepare, and employ manures.

3. The much greater quantity of small products, such as eggs, butter, milk, honey, vegetables, and fruit, which are obtained from a given quantity of land cultivated by small proprietors, than from an equal quantity of land cultivated by large proprietors, or by the tenants of such proprietors.

4. That while, on the estates of great proprietors, acres of land often lie totally unemployed and uncultivated from want of capital, or from neglect, or from wasteful farming; not a single square yard of ground is neglected or uncultivated upon the estate of the small proprietor, but every *smallest* piece of ground is turned to some account, and, if capable of any cultivation, is forced to produce all that industry can possibly win from it.

5. That even the hedges and the sides of the public roads are made available for the purposes of production, and are planted thickly with fruit-trees, which richly requite the labours of the farmers; while in countries, where the land is in the hands of few and great proprietors — our own for example — the thousands and millions of hedgerows are filled with useless brambles and underwood, and are made the breeding-places of quantities of destructive vermin.

6. To the above-mentioned causes, enumerated by Reichensperger, may be added another:—That the particular kind of tillage, viz., spade-labour, often pursued by peasant proprietors, of itself greatly increases the productiveness of the ground. The spade breaks and pulverises the soil much more finely than the plough and harrow do, and mixes the manure or lime with it much better. Fewer seeds are, therefore, choked or smothered, the grain shoots better and grows stronger, and the produce of any given number of acres is very considerably increased.

After having enumerated the above-mentioned advantages of the subdivision of land among the cultivators themselves, Reichensperger says *, — "The beautiful valley of the Rhine, with the greatest part of its neighbouring provinces, is there, fully to bear out and prove what I have said. Wirtemburg, Switzerland, Belgium, Lombardy, and, above all, the luxuriant fields of Tuscany and Lucca, all show that the above description of the blessings and happiness resulting from a wise and intelligent system of small proprietors is far behind the prosperous reality."

He mentions one fact, which seems to prove that the fertility of the land in countries, where the properties are small, must be rapidly increasing. He says, that the price of land which is divided into small properties, in the Prussian Rhine provinces, is much higher, and has been rising much more rapidly, than the price of land on the great estates. He and Professor Rau both say that this rise in the price of the small estates would

* Die Agrarfrage, p. 46.

have ruined the more recent purchasers, unless the productiveness of the small estates had increased in at least an equal proportion; and as the small proprietors have been gradually becoming more and more prosperous, notwithstanding the increasing prices they have paid for their land, he argues, with apparent justness, that this would seem to show that, not only the *gross* profits of the small estates, but the *net* profits also, have been gradually increasing, and that, the *net* profits per acre, of land, when farmed by small proprietors, are greater than the net profits per acre, of land farmed by great proprietors. He says, with seeming truth, that the increasing price of land in the small estates cannot be the mere effect of competition, or it would have diminished the profits and the prosperity of the small proprietors, and that this result has not followed the rise.

Albrecht Thaer, another celebrated German writer on the different systems of agriculture, in one of his later works*, expresses his decided conviction, that the *net produce* of land is greater, when farmed by small proprietors, than when farmed by great proprietors or their tenants. He says, "where real industry and moderate means are found among small proprietors, and where these latter are not fettered by unwise legislation or overburdened with taxation, there the land cultivated by the hands or under the immediate supervision of the small proprietor himself, will not only produce *more, as every one is willing to concede,* but will also yield a *greater net profit,* than land cultivated by great proprietors or their tenants."

* Grundsätze der rationellen Landwirthshaft.

This opinion of Thaer is all the more remarkable, as during the early part of his life he was very strongly in favour of the English system of great estates and great farms.

But whether the *net* produce of land cultivated by peasant proprietors be greater than its *net* produce when cultivated by great proprietors, or not, all accounts agree in showing that the cultivation and productiveness of the land has very much improved, and is in a state progressive improvement, wherever trade in land has been rendered free, and wherever the peasants have been enabled to acquire.

The peasant farming of Prussia, Saxony, Holland, and Switzerland is the most perfect and economical farming I have ever witnessed in any country. No pains, no means, are spared to make the ground produce as much as possible. Not a square yard of land is uncultivated or unused. No stones are left mingled with the soil. The ground is cleared of weeds and rubbish, and the lumps of earth are broken up with as much care as in an English garden. If it is meadow land, it is cleaned of noxious herbs and weeds. Only the sweet grasses, which are good for the cattle, are allowed to grow. All the manure from the house, farm, and yard is carefully collected and scientifically prepared. The liquid manure is then carried in hand-carts like our road watering carts into the fields, and is watered over the meadows in equal proportions. The solid manures are broken up, cleared of stones and rubbish, and are then properly mixed and spread over the lands which require them. No room is lost in hedges or ditches, and

no breeding-places are left for the vermin, which in many parts of England do so much injury to the farmers' crops. The character of the soil of each district is carefully examined, and a suitable rotation of crops is chosen, so as to obtain the greatest possible return without injuring the land; and the cattle are well housed, are kept beautifully clean, and are groomed and tended like the horses of our huntsmen.

All authorities upon the subject of agriculture in Prussia agree, that the cultivation of the land, before the creation of the peasant proprietor class, was very much inferior in its results to its state at the present day. Much more is obtained from the land now than formerly, and the land is less impoverished, owing to the more skilful rotation of the crops.

Before the Prussian Government was induced to try the great experiment of enabling the peasants to obtain land, and of creating a great class of peasant proprietors, it endeavoured to improve the condition of agriculture throughout the kingdom by advancing great sums of money to the great landed proprietors, with the view of enabling them to introduce better systems of farming upon their lands. Reichensperger says,*—"Frederic II. gave away very considerable sums of money for the encouragement of agriculture. According to the minister, Von Stertzberg, between the years 1763 to 1786, the sums advanced in this manner amounted to 24,399,838 thalers. The pro-

* Die Agrarfrage, p. 306.

vince of Pomerania alone received 5,500,000 thalers; and the aristocracy of that province alone received 4,500,000 thalers. 'And yet these sums of money given by Frederic to the Pomeranian nobles, to enable them to improve the cultivation of their lands, have in reality done no good; but have often, indeed, been most injurious in their effects.'"*

Professor and Regierungsrath Dr. Shubert, in his admirable work†, says,—"Prussia has excited throughout all her provinces a singular and increasing interest in agriculture, and in the breeding of cattle; and if in some localities, on account of peculiar circumstances, or of a less degree of intelligence, certain branches of the science of agriculture are less developed than in other localities, it is, nevertheless, undeniable, that an almost universal progress has been made, in the cultivation of the soil and in the breeding of cattle. No one can any longer, as was the custom thirty years ago, describe the Prussian system of agriculture by the single appellation of the three-year-course system; no one can, as formerly, confine his enumeration of richly cultivated districts to a few localities. In the present day there is no district of Prussia in which intelligence, persevering energy, and an ungrudged expenditure of capital has not immensely improved a considerable part of the country for the purposes of agriculture and of the breeding of cattle."

* Vgl. Möglin'she Jahrbücher der Landwirthshaft von A. Thaer.

† Handbuch der Allgemeinen Staatskunde des Preussischen Staats, vol. ii. p. 5.

Dr. Shubert shows what is being done at the present day to improve the system of agriculture still more. Several large agricultural colleges, and a great number of agricultural schools, have been founded and endowed in different parts of Prussia, where the sons of the farmers study the sciences of agriculture and of agricultural chemistry. A great number of agricultural societies have been formed also; and, by means of the funds of these societies, lecturers and practical farmers are retained to travel about the country, to give lectures in farming, and to aid the farmers with information and advice.

It appears from Dr. Dieterici's "Statistics of Prussia," that the arable land of Prussia

Produced	in 1805	44,000,000	scheffels of grain.
—	in 1831	55,000,000	ditto.
—	in 1841	68,000,000	ditto.

This alone proves that the land of Prussia has produced much more since a great part of it has been divided among the peasants, than it did when it was all held by a few great proprietors; and this fact is still more significant, when we consider, that the increase in the amount of grain produced by the land is much greater, than the increase in the numbers of the population.

The increase in the numbers of the Prussian population, since 1805, may be thus represented —

Years - - -	1805	1831	1843
Population - - -	1	$1\frac{8}{10}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$

while the increase in the quantity of grain produced in Prussia, since 1805, may be thus represented —

Years - - -	1805	1831	1841
Grain produced -	1	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$

from which it is evident that the increase, since 1805, in the quantity of grain produced in Prussia is much greater, than the increase during the same period in the numbers of the population.

Professor Rau, of Heidelberg, has published a small work on the agriculture and on the social condition of the peasant proprietors of that part of Germany, which lies upon the Rhine and Neckar, and which we know by the name of the Palatinate. I would strongly advise every one to read this little book. It contains a striking corroboration of the account, which I am giving of the German peasants. Professor Rau says, that the land of the Palatinate is so much subdivided, that many of the plots are not more than *one* acre, while the majority of the little estates vary between twenty acres and one acre in size. Yet, with this excessive subdivision, how does he describe the state of agriculture and the condition of the people?

After saying*, that this part of Germany has long been celebrated for its skilful and scientific farming, he continues thus: "Whoever travels hastily through this part of the country must have been agreeably surprised with the luxuriant vegetation of the fields, with the orchards and vineyards, which cover the hill-sides, with the size of the villages, with the breadth of their streets, with the beauty of their official buildings, with the cleanliness and stateliness of their houses, with the good clothing in which the people appear at their festivities, and with the universal proofs of a prosperity, which has

* Landwirthshaft der Rheinpfalz.

been caused by industry and skill, and which has survived all the political changes of the times."

"There can be no doubt of the excellence of the system of agriculture pursued there."

"Of the labour bestowed upon the land, it may be said, that it is generally expended with a high degree of industry and skill. The unwearied assiduity of the peasants,—who are to be seen actively employed the whole of every year and of every day, and who are never idle, because they understand how to arrange their work, and how to set apart for every time and season its appropriate duties,—is as remarkable, as their eagerness to avail themselves of every circumstance and of every new invention which can aid them, and their ingenuity in improving their resources, are praiseworthy. It is easy to perceive that the peasant of this district really understands his business. He can give reasons for the occasional failures of his operations; he knows and remembers clearly his pecuniary resources; he arranges his choice of fruits according to their prices; and he makes his calculations by the general signs and tidings of the weather."

According to Professor Rau, the position of even the daily labourers has improved since 1817, as the price of the necessaries of life has, since that time, fallen more than the wages of the labourers. He says, that even the labourers live more comfortably, take better care of their children, and are better able to save than they were formerly; that they eat more meat and puddings and more cheese than they did forty years ago; and that their manner of living is generally much better than it was then.

He gives a curious and minute account of the way in which the peasants collect the dung of the stables, cow-sheds, and houses; and he shows how scientifically they prepare the different kinds of manures, and apply them to the different descriptions of lands.

Speaking of their economical manner of collecting and preparing manure, Professor Rau says, "As the cows are not generally fed in the meadows, but in the sheds, none of their dung is lost."

"The bedding of the cattle generally lies under them from one to two days, but not longer. It is then carried out to the dung-heap, and, after lying there about six weeks, is carried out upon the lands."

These peasant proprietors know exactly how much manure each acre of their land requires for its good cultivation. They know also how much manure they can obtain annually from each head of cattle. If the number of cattle, which one of the small farmers possesses, is not large enough to furnish sufficient manure for the whole of his land, he reckons how much he shall require, and purchases so much from those of his neighbours who have more than they require.

All the waste water of the house, the stables, the cow-sheds, the pig-sties, and the farm-yards is collected in conduits made on purpose upon every farm, and is carried along these conduits, sometimes to a well made on purpose to receive it, and sometimes to the dung-heap. It is, however, generally, and in Switzerland always, collected in a well which is made in the farm-yard for its reception. A small pump is put down into this well, and by its means the liquid manure is pumped

up into small watering-carts, and is carried in these on to the land, and regularly scattered over the well-broken soil.

In England and Wales millions of pounds' worth of manure are lost every year in our farm-yards, from the lack of science among our farmers, and from the little interest, which the greater part of even our greater leasehold farmers feel in agricultural improvements.

One objection, which has been always urged with great eagerness and apparent force against the system of subdivision of land and small farms is, that the small farmers are too poor to possess themselves of the expensive machines, which science has invented and will invent, and which enable their possessors to economise labour and time, to carry out great agricultural improvements at a small expense, and to perform many important agricultural operations which cannot be performed without them.

This objection, however, is more specious than true. The more intelligence advances among the small proprietors, by means of the agricultural colleges and of the schools of agricultural chemistry, which are being founded throughout Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Holland, for the express purpose of training the children of the peasant farmers in the science of agriculture, and which are raising up a class of small proprietor farmers, who, for the knowledge of agriculture, put to shame the majority of our large tenant farmers — the more, I repeat, intelligence advances by these means among the small proprietors, the better will they understand how to combine among themselves,

so as to help one another to carry out those particular operations, which require an accumulation of capital for their successful prosecution.

As Counsellor Reichensperger says, "there is nothing to prevent small proprietors availing themselves of the more costly agricultural machines, if several of them unite in the purchase of them, and keep them for common use. It is always a very easy matter, so to arrange the agricultural operations of several farms, that one machine may perform them all without putting any of the proprietors to any inconvenience."

This opinion of Reichensperger is worthy of all the more consideration, as he is living among a nation of small proprietors, and as he has devoted a considerable period of time to the study of their condition and of its capabilities of improvement.

He further says, that the parts of Europe where the most extensive and costly plans for watering the meadows and lands have been carried out in the greatest perfection, are those where the lands are very much subdivided, and are in the hands of small proprietors. He instances the plain round Valencia, several of the southern departments of France, particularly those of Vaucluse and Bouches du Rhone, Lombardy, Tuscany, the districts of Sienna, Lucca, and Bergamo, Piedmont, many parts of Germany, and the district of Siegenshen, in all which parts of Europe the land is very much subdivided among small proprietors. In all these parts great and expensive systems and plans of general irrigation have been carried out, and are now being supported, by the small proprietors themselves; thus showing

how they are able to accomplish, by means of combination, work requiring the expenditure of great quantities of capital.

The following interesting account of the character of farming in the Prussian Rhine Provinces is given by Mr. Banfield *: —

"The first study of every good farmer in Germany is the local part of his task, the influence of soil and climate. In the uplands of Cleves the climate is dry, and the sun hot in summer; the soil is strongly charged with limestone; cow-dung is found to answer better for winter crops, or at least cow-dung mixed with horse-dung better than the latter alone: for this reason, oxen are kept as draught cattle all along the Rhine. The dung-heap in the centre of the farm-yard is the point, on which the greatest care is concentrated for good farming establishments. It usually lies in a deep sloped pit, enclosed by stone walls on three sides, the bottom rising gradually to the level of the yard on the fourth side, to allow of the approach of the dung-cart. Into this pit the drains from all the offices are led, and waste of all kinds is thrown upon it. The plan of stall-feeding, but especially the care taken to keep the beasts clean (they are rubbed down every day like horses), prevents their being allowed to tread the heap down. Straw is likewise much economised, as it is used to mix with the oats during the winter. The mixture of cow and horse-dung, with the flow of cold moistening matter, prevents the fermentation that would otherwise arise in

* Agriculture on the Rhine, p. 16.

the heap, and cause much of its value to evaporate. After the fallow-ploughing, the manure is only just ploughed in sufficiently deep to cover it. Top-dressings are a good deal in use amongst good farmers for grain crops.

"At Goch, as well as in other well-managed farms in this district, compost heaps are to be seen in all yards; the substances used for one resembled a mixture we have seen in some parts of Ireland. A heap of quick-lime is covered all over with turf-ashes, or with wood-ashes, from the house-stoves. Water is thrown over the heap, and, after a few days, the lime, in fermenting, shows itself through the ashes; the heap is then turned over, again covered with ashes, and watered; and this process is repeated until the lime is thoroughly slaked; the mass is then mixed with sand or earth, or other compost heaps, and forms an excellent top-dressing.

. . . . "The number of stock kept is large, even on those uplands, where there is little grazing. One horse for twenty acres is the proportion of the best farmers; but then fifteen to twenty-five oxen and cows would be the smallest number of horned cattle on one hundred acres, with one to two hundred sheep. On a *peasant's farm of fifty acres, we have found four horses, fifteen head of horned cattle, and seventy to eighty sheep.*

"In following the use to which the farmer puts this manure, we come to the distinguishing feature of Rhenish agriculture. No peculiar crop is here prescribed by legislative enactment, and the climate admits of a sufficient variety to allow the landowner to draw all the help he can from the nature of his soil.

The uplands of Cleves are particularly well suited to grow barley. In the autumn, the land of this description is well ploughed and manured, and, in the following spring, barley and clover are sown; the grain obtains the highest price in the Dutch market. It is not unusual to turn the cows on the stubble; but each is fastened by the stable-chain to an iron stake driven into the ground, to prevent straying, as the lots are small in these parts, and no fences are to be found. . . . .

"The second year gives a rich clover crop, partly for stall-feeding, in part to be saved as hay, and the third (sometimes the second) cutting gives the seed known in England as Dutch clover seed, from the circumstance of its passing through Holland on its way to London and Hull. When the seed has ripened and been housed, the clover is broken up, and, after several ploughings, wheat is sown, which is followed by rye. Turnips are sown in the rye stubble; and the fifth year begins the rotation again with potatoes, followed by barley and clover in the highly manured soil. In soils less peculiarly suited to barley (which recommends itself as a profitable article of exportation), wheat and rye follow potatoes or flax, and are followed by oats. Cabbages and carrots often alternate with potatoes as fallow crops, and are richly manured; and in most large farms the two rotations go on side by side on lands of differing qualities. Perhaps the absence of expensive farming favours the study of the peculiar nature of the soil, which is evidently severely tried by the rotations we have described. Where composts with marl or lime are used as top-dressings, the rotation

is usually prolonged, and the rye crop is repeated and followed by oats. It is common to top-dress the barley, after it has germinated, with compost or with liquids. . . . . .

"The land is made to bear the utmost that nature without forcing admits. Horned cattle are used in abundance, but are not forced in fattening, and the average weight of an ox does not exceed forty stone."

Again, the same writer says *, "In the great occupation of turning to the best account the soil and climate given to them by Providence, the peasant of the Rhine stands untutored, except by experience. And could the tourist hear these men in their blouses and thick gaiters converse on the subject, he would be surprised at the mass of practical knowledge they possess, and at the caution and yet the keenness with which they study these advantages. Of this all may rest assured, that from the commencement of the offsets of the Eifel, where the village cultivation assumes an individual and strictly local character, good reason can be given for the manner in which every inch of ground is laid out, as for every balm, root, or tree, that covers it."

Reichensperger also bears testimony to the great prosperity of the small proprietors of the Rhine Provinces of Bavaria. He says †, "the condition of the agriculture and of the agricultural classes of the Rhine Provinces of Bavaria is in most respects analogous to that of the Rhine Province of Prussia, and most strongly attests the good results of the system of small pro-

* Agriculture of the Rhine, p. 81.

† Die Agrarfrage, p. 419.

prietors in the former provinces. Even a superficial observation of this populous, flourishing land, which, under the industrious hands of its numerous small proprietors, and under the influence of a system of free-trade in land, produces all the products of Middle Europe in the richest abundance, proves the truth of this statement."

The same writer, residing among the peasant proprietors of the Rhine Provinces of Prussia, describes the state of the farms before the subdivision of the land, and the effect of this subdivision in those provinces, in the following manner.* This account is worthy the greatest consideration.

"If we observe the effect of the subdivision of land in the Rhine Province, a merely hasty glance at the handsome and well-built villages, and the luxuriant orchards and fields, will suffice to show, that the new agrarian regulations have by no means, as their opponents have alleged, plunged the land into poverty and suffering, but that they have, on the contrary, exercised the most beneficial influence upon the cultivation of the land and upon the condition of the people.

"The indivisibility of the estates was never formally established in this province by any laws or customs; but large estates became consolidated and tied up either in aristocratic families or in spiritual or temporal corporations. These great estates were generally let out for short periods of time to farmers, *and were almost without exception wretchedly cultivated.* Although the rents of

* Reichensperger, Die Agrarfrage, p. 403.

the farms were very small and were seldom increased, yet the farmers' families, upon even the largest farms, were scarcely ever in a prosperous condition, but existed in great deprivation of even the necessaries of life, and without being able to lay by any thing. They were not able to bear the least adversity; and it was necessary, that even a dead horse should be replaced by the assistance of their landlords, if the farmer was not to be ruined by his loss, as he could not save enough to buy another himself. The land was burdened with many dues, partly feudal and partly in form of rents to private individuals, which, together with the tithes, prevented all improvement of the land.

"To this miserable, almost stationary state of things, followed, in the beginning of the present century, the subdivision of the land, which was originated by the French Revolution, and was principally caused by the sale of the so-called national property. Out of a single farm, which formerly secured to the farmer only a miserable existence, were formed very quickly, by means of speculation and division, small estates for four or more families, who, notwithstanding that the price of the land now much exceeded the value of the former farm, as calculated by the rent it paid, attained in a short time a prosperous condition. The handsome dwelling-houses and farm buildings, which arose on all sides on the sites of the old farm-houses—the enlarged villages, and their improved internal arrangement, proved that the succeeding and more numerous proprietors of the land obtained from it much more produce than the prior tenant farmers had been able to do. . . . . The

cattle-breeding was now improved from year to year, and, by means of the great number of small but intelligent and active landowners possessed generally of sufficient capital, the old agricultural system gradually gave place to a clearer, more intelligent, and more rational system of husbandry. A tolerably equally divided prosperity, equally removed from the suffering of pauperism and from the superfluity of wealth, was the consequence of these changes; and if the prosperity of the larger towns has increased still more rapidly, the country districts have experienced the influence of this improvement in the increasing consumption of raw products. . . . The country people of the Rhine Province and the people of the neighbouring provinces, who enjoy a system of free proprietorship of land, may, in the face of the world, be proud among their hills and valleys, which they have made so happy in appearance, and in their clean and comfortable villages; they may point with pride to the men, whom they furnish to the yearly military levies; they may boast themselves of the propriety of their social life; nor need they fear comparison with any other race, if we except the incomparably prosperous inhabitants of Styria, the Tyrol, and Switzerland" (in all which countries the peasants are proprietors), "who, in activity, happiness, and freedom, have no equals. The inhabitants of the Rhine Provinces feel themselves to be the proprietors of the soil which they cultivate. This fact distinguishes them greatly, in every intellectual and physical respect, from the peasant labourers, who possess nothing of their own, and who at this day, in the same manner as

hundreds of years ago, cultivate and labour for the great proprietors without any hope of improvement."

The inhabitants of the Rhine Province are themselves so convinced of the benefits, which they derive from the subdivision of the land among the peasants, that, in 1841, the representative assembly of the province rejected, by a majority of 49 to 8 representatives, a proposition made to them by the Prussian government to restrain the subdivision of the land. The same feeling has been manifested throughout Prussia, whenever the government has attempted, as it has done on several occasions, to found a Prussian landed aristocracy, by introducing a plan like that in force in our country, whereby to accumulate great estates, and to retain them for many generations in the same family. The middle and lower classes in Prussia are so conscious of the benefits they derive from the opposite system, and have therefore always offered so strong an opposition to any hint at a change, that the government, powerful and arbitrary as it was prior to 1848, has not ventured to carry out what it had so much at heart.

Some have thought that a country, the land of which is very much subdivided, will not support so many cattle as one the land of which is cultivated in great estates. This, however, is satisfactorily disproved by many statistics, and particularly by the statistics of the numbers of horses, cows, sheep, &c., supported in Prussia in different years since the land was first subdivided.

From these statistics it appears that, notwithstanding that the quantity of grain produced in Prussia has increased so very considerably of late years, the numbers

of horses, cows, oxen, and sheep have been also increasing in a very remarkable manner since the land was released from the laws which prevented its subdivision. If we compare the statistics published by the Statistical Bureau in Berlin, and quoted by Reichensperger, it appears that the numbers of horses, cows and oxen, sheep, and pigs in the whole of Prussia in different years were as follows —

Years.	Horses.	Cows and Oxen.	Sheep.	Pigs.
1831	1,374,594	4,446,368	11,965,675	No return.
1837	1,472,901	4,838,622	15,338,977	1,936,304
1843	1,564,554	5,042,010	16,235,880	2,115,212

while the increase, since 1816, in that part of Prussia where the land is subdivided the most, viz., the Rhine Province, has been greater than that of any other part of Prussia. The following table shows what the increase has been since 1816 in the Rhine Province: —

Years.	Horses.	Cows and Oxen.	Sheep.	Pigs.
1816	94,564	609,960	535,754	195,466
1831	109,642	711,126	490,721	214,870
1843	122,318	776,453	575,193	277,087

In 1843 the Minister of the Interior of Prussia presented to the King a report upon the condition of agriculture in Prussia, in which it is said, that the system of peasant proprietors, which was introduced into Prussia by Frederic William III., has greatly improved the condition of the peasants both intellectually and socially, and that it has not failed in its expected effect upon the material prosperity of the country, but has undeniably increased the activity and enterprise of

all people engaged in agriculture, and has been the cause of the visibly growing prosperity of the people.*

"The wonderful progress which Prussian agriculture has made, since the laws of Frederic William III. were issued, and owing to them, in the province of Brandenburg, was forcibly described, at the third meeting of the German Agricultural Association at Potsdam, in 1839, by Herr Koppe, a member of the National Economical Association, and one thoroughly well acquainted with the state of agriculture in that province." †

Herr Koppe says, that the new system has produced greater results upon the large estates of Brandenburg than upon the small ones. As the results on the larger estates of freeing the land from all restraints upon its sale and transmission from a man of little capital and intelligence to a man of more capital and intelligence, he enumerates the following: — The abandonment of the old and unscientific customs; the diffusion of a knowledge of the science of agriculture; the increasing observance of the results of experience; better arrangement of the land; employment of better agricultural implements and machines; a more scientific management and employment of manures; an increase in the amount of manure; better cultivation of the meadows; perceptible improvement in the breeding, feeding, and management of the cattle; introduction of new and useful agricultural methods; and, as a consequence of all this, higher rents and higher price of

* Reichensperger, Die Agrarfrage, p. 397. † Ibid.

land. The speech of Herr Koppe is too long for insertion in this work; it may be found in Reichensperger's work.

Counsellor Doenniges expresses his conviction of the happy results of this system in the most decided manner. He says*, that the so often opposed divisibility of the land has led to happy results, and has formed, so to speak, a ladder by which the peasants and small proprietors may rise in the social scale, and increase the size of their estates.

The Geh. Ob. Reg. Rath. Lette bears his testimony in like manner to the same effect. He said, at the seventh meeting of the German Agricultural Association, that they had all been reconciled to the new system of agrarian regulations; and that their admirable results had carried conviction to the minds of all. †

A ministerial paper, laid before the provincial assembly of the Rhine Province, bears witness to the same effect. It says, that the new agrarian regulations have removed all impediments to the progress of agriculture, and that they have tended to improve the cultivation of the land so much, as to have, in 1843, raised the marketable value of the land, since 1828, about 75 per cent. ‡

Geh. Ob. Reg. Raths. Bethe, who, in 1836, made a report to the government upon the condition of the Rhine Province, confirms by his testimony the truth of the former accounts. He says that the division of the

* Die Agrarfrage, p. 400. † Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 409.

land in that province has been the cause of improvement and progress. This official reporter mentions one place, the district surrounding the town of Duren, which is divided into very small parcels, and in the neighbourhood of which there are some large manufactories, and he says of it, that the prosperity of this district has increased to such a degree, that no change of the present system can possibly be desired.*

In the Protestant cantons of Switzerland not a foot of waste land is to be seen. Wherever anything will grow, something useful is made to grow. It is curious to see the singular pains bestowed upon the lands. The men are often assisted by their whole households in cultivation. From early in the morning until late in the evening the peasants labour on their farms. The workmen of the towns, who possess plots, turn out in the evenings after their day's labour is over, when they may be seen weeding, digging, cleaning, and watering with all the zest and eagerness of competitors for a prize. In many of the Swiss towns, the greater part of the workmen who are forty years of age possess plots of land, which they have purchased with the savings laid by before marriage.

In Saxony it is a notorious fact, that during the last thirty years, and since the peasants became the proprietors of the land, which they formerly held as the Irish hold their little leaseholds, viz., from and at the will of owners of great estates, there has been a rapid and continual improvement in the condition of the

* Die Agrarfrage, p. 412.

houses, in the manner of living, in the dress of the peasants, and particularly in the culture of the land. I have twice walked through that part of Saxony called Saxon-Switzerland in company with a German guide, and on purpose to see the state of the villages and of the farming, and I can safely challenge contradiction when I affirm, that there is no farming in all Europe superior to the laboriously careful cultivation of the valleys of that part of Saxony. There, as in the cantons of Berne, Vaud, and Zurick, and in the Rhine Provinces, the farms are singularly flourishing. They are kept in beautiful condition, and are always neat and well-managed. The ground is cleaned as if it were a garden. No hedges or brushwood encumber it. Scarcely a rush or thistle or a bit of rank grass is to be seen. The meadows are well watered every spring with liquid manure, saved from the drainings of the farm-yards. The grass is so free from weeds that the Saxon meadows reminded me more of English lawns, than of anything else I had seen. The little plots of land belonging to the peasantry lie side by side, undivided by hedge or ditch or any other kind of separation. The peasants endeavour to outstrip one another in the quantity and quality of the produce, in the preparation of the ground, and in the general cultivation of their respective portions; and this very rivalry tends to improve all the more the system of tillage and the value of the crops.

All the little proprietors are eager to find out how to farm so as to produce the greatest results; they diligently seek after improvements; they send their children to the agricultural schools in order to fit them

to assist their fathers; and each proprietor soon adopts a new improvement introduced by any of his neighbours.

A proprietor of a small plot of land does this because he feels that any improvement, which he makes, is so much gain for himself and his family. A lessee of a small plot of land acts otherwise, because he knows that it is uncertain whether he or his landlord will reap the benefit of his improvements; because he knows that his improvements will, sooner or later, be taken possession of by the landlord; and because he cannot feel the same interest in improving the condition of a plot belonging to another, as he would if the plot belonged to himself.

If any one has travelled in the mountainous parts of Scotland and Wales, where the farmers are only underlessees of great landlords, without security of tenure, and liable to be turned out of possession with half-a-year's notice, and where the peasants are only labourers without any land of their own, and generally without even the use of a garden; if he has travelled in the mountainous parts of Switzerland, Saxony, and the hilly parts of the Prussian Rhine Provinces, where most of the farmers and peasants possess, or can, by economy and industry, obtain land of their own; and if he has paid any serious attention to the condition of the farms, peasants, and children of these several countries, he cannot fail to have observed the astonishing superiority of the condition of the peasants, children, and farms in the last-mentioned countries.

The miserable cultivation, the undrained and rush-

covered valleys, the great number of sides of hills, terraces on the rocks, sides of streams, and other places capable of the richest cultivation, but wholly disused, even for game preserves; the vast tracts of the richest lands lying in moors, and bogs, and swamps, and used only for the breeding-places of game, and deer, and vermin, while the poor peasants are starving beside them; the miserable huts of cottages, with their one story, their two low rooms, their wretched and undrained floors, and their dilapidated roofs; and the crowds of miserable, half-clad, ragged, dirty, uncombed, and unwashed children, never blessed with any education, never trained in cleanliness, or morality, and never taught any pure religion, are as astounding on the one hand, as the happy condition of the peasants in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, in the Tyrol, in Saxony, and in the mountainous parts of the Prussian Rhine Provinces, is pleasing upon the other, where every plot of land that can bear anything is brought into the most beautiful state of cultivation; where the valleys are richly and scientifically farmed; where the manures are collected with the greatest care; where the houses are generally large, roomy, well-built, and in excellent repair, and are improving every day; where the children are beautifully clean, comfortably dressed, and attending excellent schools; and where the condition of the people is one of hope, industry, and progress.

There can be no doubt that, if the mountainous parts of Wales and Scotland were subjected to a system of laws similar to those of Norway, Germany, France, and Switzerland; and if the peasants of Wales

and Scotland were able to purchase land, that the mountainous parts of the latter countries would yield at least *six times* as great a produce as they do at present, while the character of the people would, in the course of two generations, be greatly improved.

Those who have not travelled in hill-countries inhabited by peasant proprietors, can have no idea how mountains may be cultivated. Mr. Gleig*, when speaking of Saxony, says, "There is, perhaps, no country in the world where more is made of the land than in Saxony. Every spot of earth which seems capable of giving a return is cultivated, and the meadows are mowed twice or thrice in the course of each summer. You never meet with such a thing as a common or a waste, while the forests are all guarded with a strictness proportionate to their value." And even Mr. M'Culloch himself says, "landed properties are rather of limited size; but, in all the rural districts, the people appear to be contented, and, on the whole, comfortable: *pauperism* is rare." † The same writer, although so earnest an advocate of the system of great estates, in speaking of the famous Prussian edict of 1811, which enabled the peasants of Prussia to become proprietors, and which broke up the old great-estate system, says, "*It has given a wonderful stimulus to improvement.* The peasantry, relieved from the burdens and services to which they were previously subjected, and placed, in respect of political privileges, on a level with their lords, have begun to display a spirit of enterprise and industry that was formerly unknown. Formerly, also, there

* Germany, i. 237. † Geog. Dict. title Saxony.

were in Prussia — as there have been in England and in most other countries — a great extent of land belonging to towns and villages, and occupied in common by the inhabitants. While under this tenure, these lands rarely produced a third or a fourth of what they would produce were they divided into separate properties and assigned to individuals, each reaping all the advantages resulting from superior industry and exertion. The Prussian government, being aware of this, has succeeded in effecting the division of a vast number of common properties, and has thus totally changed the appearance of a large extent of country, and created several thousand new proprietors. The want of capital, and the force of old habits, rendered the influence of these changes in the outset less striking than many anticipated; but these retarding circumstances have daily diminished in power, *and it may be safely affirmed that the country has made a greater progress since* 1815 *than it did during the preceding hundred years.*"

Once enable the peasants to purchase land, and you triumph over sterility. The vast arid prairie plains of Prussia, with a deep sandy soil, bare of hedges, and almost bare of trees, excepting where the forests grow for the supply of fuel, have been thus forced to yield their increase. From the railways, as you pass along the surface of these prairies, your eye meets cultivation every where. Flourishing villages, of houses as large as those occupied by our farmers, divide the plains between them; no trees overshadow the cornlands; no old tenures prevent the farmers cutting down all which either impede the course of the plough or the rays of the

sun, or which take up ground better employed in other ways than in growing wood. The farmer, in fine, is free to do whatever will secure him the largest return from his land. In Saxony and Switzerland it is very curious to observe, how, under the influence of the division of the land and its release from the feudal tenures, cultivation, and that, too, of the most scientific kind, has forced its way up the mountain-sides on to every little ledge where a meadow could be made, into the glades of the forests, upon the little corners of land left by the streams and rivers, and over every bog and moor. You find meadows, pasturages, and gardens where, in Wales, Westmoreland, Ireland, or Scotland, there would be only a bleak hill-side or a barren moor. A traveller in these countries will not find common lands left waste or useless; or great patches left uncultivated from want of drainage; or meadows where the grass grows rank and mixed with weeds, from the want of an embankment to turn off the waters of a passing stream; or great strips wasted and encumbered by broad and vermin-filled hedges, with wide and useless ditches on each side.

Wherever there is soil there is also cultivation; and where there is no soil the peasants often bring some.

It is singular to see the odd places where meadows of the most beautiful grass are laid out in Switzerland. You may ascend the mountains for a whole day, and often, after having left behind you belt after belt of forest, growing for the supply of fuel, up above them all, as high as soil is found, you will still see green pastures, which have been brought into cultivation by

the indefatigable industry of the peasants. Up, too, upon the rocky ledges, whence you would imagine it would be difficult to let down the produce, grass is grown for winter consumption in the valleys. No difficulties deter the peasant if he can make the spot his own, and if he can win anything from it by any amount of labour. Waste lands and badly cultivated spots cannot exist long, where the possessors of land are not trammelled by a system of tenures like our own, but where they are at liberty to dispose of their lands, whenever they feel it for their interest to do so, and where the peasants can, by prudence and self-denial, make themselves proprietors.

In Saxon Switzerland, the government of Saxony possessed a number of barren heath-clad hills, which had never been brought into cultivation, and which, by many persons, were supposed to be quite unfit for cultivation. The government gave notice, a few years ago, that it would grant portions of the sides of these hills to any peasant, who would cultivate them, on the following conditions: —

For three years no rent was to be paid for it; afterwards the cultivator might either purchase the land at a certain rate fixed and specified, or he might rent it from government at a small annual payment, the amount of which was to bear a certain fixed proportion to the produce obtained from the land. The scheme has succeeded admirably. Whole hill-sides have been taken by the peasants, and brought into cultivation. The moorlands have been drained; the stones have been carried away; the land has been well trenched, and

has become very valuable. This shows how enterprising an intelligent peasantry will prove, when their efforts are not impeded by legislation or by old feudal prejudices. Were we to enable the Irish peasant to make himself a proprietor, we should in twenty years alter the character of Ireland. The peasants would become conservative, orderly, and industrious; the moor and waste lands would disappear; cultivation would spread its green carpet over the bogs and mountains; and that now unhappy island would become a powerful arm of Great Britain. But so long as we subject the Irish peasantry to the present under-lessee system, so long will they be a turbulent, idle, and disaffected people, and so long will Ireland be a drain upon the imperial treasury, and a cause of weakness to the empire.

It would astonish the English people to see how intensely the peasants of France, Germany, Switzerland, and Holland labour on their fields. The whole of the farmer's family assists. It is not an unwilling drudgery, but a toil in which they feel pleasure; for they know, that the harder they labour, the greater will be their profits, and the better will be their means of subsistence. There is always something to be done. When they can work on their fields, they are opening drains, breaking up lumps of earth, spreading manures, digging, cleaning, weeding, sowing, or gathering in the harvest. When they cannot work in their fields, they are putting their farmyards and farm-buildings into order, whitewashing (this they are very fond of doing), repairing walls, mixing or preparing manures, or doing something in preparation for some of their out-door operations. They do all this,

be it remembered, for themselves; and they take real pleasure in their work, and do it ten times better, and ten times more expeditiously, than the poor, hired, and ignorant peasants of England, who have nothing to look forward to, but to remain peasants for ever, earning from seven to nine shillings a-week, and without any interest in the soil; or even than the farmers of England, who farm the land of another, having often no lease of it, and scarcely any security for any expenditure upon it, and who seldom care anything about either their land or their buildings, except to get as much out of them, and with as small an outlay, as possible.

The governments of Western Europe are doing a great deal, to enable the peasant proprietors to acquire a knowledge of the best systems of agriculture and management of cattle.

The cantonal governments of Switzerland have been earnestly engaged for several years in establishing, in various parts of the country, great schools, where the children of the farmers may be educated, at a very trifling expense, in the science of agriculture. I went over several, in company with M. de Fellenberg and M. Vehrli. I have described them more fully in the chapter on Swiss education.

To each of these institutions are attached, a large farm, barns, cowsheds, farm-yards, orchards, a plentiful supply of the best farm implements, a laboratory, and class-rooms. The greatest portion of the expense of maintaining them is defrayed by the cantonal governments. Many of the sons of the peasant farmers enter

these institutions after leaving the primary schools. They remain in them from one to three years. They learn there agricultural chemistry and practical farming. They are taught how to analyse earths; how to mix and manure them, so as to make them as fertile as possible; how to prepare and collect manures; how to drain land; how to tend, and fatten cattle; how to manage the dairy; how to breed cattle, so as best to improve the stock; how to vary the succession of crops, so as to make the most of particular soils; how to prune fruit-trees; and, in fact, the whole science of farming. Is it surprising that farmers educated in such a manner should be much more skilful, and should make much more out of their lands, than the farmers of our country? Similar colleges are being established throughout Germany and France.

But this is not all, that is being done in foreign countries, in order to secure a scientific system of farming among the peasant proprietors.

All the teachers of the village schools, as I shall hereafter show, are prepared for their duties in the villages, by a long and very careful preparation in the Normal colleges.

Among other things which they learn, in many of these colleges, are, botany, the art of pruning, and the art of gardening; and, in some of them, as in the Bernese Normal College, they are taught and practised in farming.

This is done for two purposes; first, in order to strengthen their sympathies for the peasants, among whom they have in after-life to labour, by accustoming

them to all the habits of the peasants; and, secondly, in order to enable them to give the children in the village schools a rudimentary knowledge of pruning, gardening, and farming, so as to insure their being taught, at least, the first principles of these arts, and so as to stimulate their interest in them, and to teach them that there is a right and a wrong way of conducting them. Boys who have received these ideas in early life will not afterwards scoff at instruction, but will always be ready, not only to receive, but to seek out, advice and assistance.

Science is welcomed among the small farmers of foreign countries. Each is so anxious to emulate and surpass his neighbours, that any new invention, which benefits one, is eagerly sought out and adopted by the others.

The system of agriculture, therefore, good as it is among these intelligent peasant proprietors, is not at a stand still, but is making rapid progress. The governments, poor as they are, have ample funds to devote to the best possible education of all classes.

No one who has travelled through the Rhine Provinces of Germany, through Prussia, Saxony, Holland, the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and some of the Catholic cantons, as Soleure, Zug, and the upper part of the valley of the Rhone, can possibly deny the excellence, or the progressive improvement of the cultivation of the soil.

The small farms round Berne, and in Saxon Switzerland, are so beautifully managed, that a traveller is tempted to believe them to be the property of rich

men, who keep them up for their own amusement, and do not mind spending upon them in order to make them neat and good-looking. Not that there is really much expended on mere beautifying, but that every thing is carefully kept in order, as by proprietors who feel an interest and a pride in their little properties.

In some parts of Switzerland the farm-buildings are much plainer and much poorer than in others, as, for instance, in the Ober Vallais; but in most parts, the same careful and beautiful cultivation is to be seen, and the same degree of interest is displayed by the proprietors in the condition of their little estates. Among these intelligent peasants, who labour on their own lands, there is no need to get up ploughing matches, to offer premiums for the best crops, for the largest turnips, or for the finest potatoes; or to get up cattle shows and prize exhibitions, in order to promote a good system of farming. The peasant farmers feel themselves too immediately interested in the state of their farms, to need such inducements to exertion as these; as they know, that all they expend upon their little estates is a safe investment, and will be returned tenfold to themselves or to their children. This feeling stimulates the peasant proprietors of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and France to spend their earnings upon their lands, to adopt every discoverable means of improving their systems of tillage, to send their children to the agricultural schools, and to bring them up in habits of industry and economy.

I have spent a great deal of time among the peasant proprietors in different parts of Europe. I have resided

or travelled about among them in North, South, and West Prussia, in North and South Holland, in Belgium, in the valleys of Switzerland, Styria, and the Tyrol, in Saxony, Bavaria, and upon the banks of the Rhine.

In all these countries the same evidences of progress and improvement may be seen among the peasants; viz., a laboriously careful tillage of the fields, and cultivation of the gardens; large, good, and substantial houses for the peasantry; orderly and clean villages; and great industry. I was assured, in the Rhine Provinces and in Saxony, that the face of the country had quite changed, since the laws tending to prevent the sale and division of the landed property had been altered; and that the system of farming, the character of the houses, and the condition of the peasants, had progressively improved and were still improving. Certainly, the appearance of the villages, houses, farms, and peasantry was singularly satisfactory. The cultivation of the land was as beautiful and perfect as I have ever seen. The careful manner in which the sods were broken up upon the ploughed fields, and the way, in which all the weeds, stones, and rubbish were removed from the ground, in which every disposable bit of ground was brought under cultivation, and in which the land was drained of all superabundant moisture and manured, filled me with surprise, at what Professor Rau most truly calls, the "superhuman industry," "das ubermenschliche fleis," of the peasants.*

* I only wish I could persuade my readers to go and *stay* in Saxon Switzerland, and examine for themselves the state of the peasant pro-

Owing to the care, with which the peasants constantly water their meadows with the liquid manures, which they collect and prepare in the farm-yards, and which they carry out to their lands in small hand watering-carts, and spread over the lands in equal proportions, and owing also to the care, with which they clear the ground of stones, rubbish, and noxious grasses, the meadows attain a remarkable luxuriance of verdure, and yield a peculiarly rich and innocuous hay, for the food of the well stalled cattle during the winter months.

During the summer months, in the valleys of Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Styria, as the snow gradually melts off the mountains, the cattle are driven higher and higher, to eat up the sweet grass of the mountain pasturages, while that of the valley meadows grows for the winter store of hay. The cattle leave the villages towards the end of spring, followed by two or three families, who accompany them from pasturage to pasturage, as the snow melts, and who change their

prietors of that country. If a man wishes to ascertain the effect of a country's institutions, and the condition of a people, it is ridiculous for him to satisfy himself with merely passing through the country. I met, in 1848, at a table d'hote at Ostend, an English traveller, who had just returned from Saxony; I asked him what he thought of the condition of the peasants there. "Oh," he replied, "the're a miserable and wretched people, ground to the earth by their rulers." "I am surprised," I ventured to observe, "to hear you express such an opinion of them, as I have spent some time in two several years among them, and I certainly thought I had never seen so happy or so flourishing a peasantry.". "Oh very likely, very likely," he eagerly replied, "I don't know much about them. I staid only three days there, and I don't speak the language."

residence from one chalet or log-hut to another, as the cattle get higher into the mountains. Those, who attend the cattle, milk them, make the milk into butter and cheese in the mountain chalets, and send it down to the villages by the young men, who carry up at regular intervals from the village, provisions for the consumption of the guardians of the cattle. In this way, the cattle and their guardians gradually ascend the mountains, from pasturage to pasturage, until the middle of August; and then, in the same manner, when the snow begins to descend in the higher pasturages, they gradually descend, and re-enter the village about the end of the month of September, when the cattle are housed for the winter. The day of the return of the cattle and their guardians is a grand gala-day in the villages, and is celebrated with great rejoicings. The cattle are driven in from the mountains garlanded with flowers, and with bells hung round their necks; the peasants assemble in their gayest attire; and processions are formed to welcome back again the young people, who have been so long absent, and the cattle, which are one great source of the prosperity of the village.

In speaking of peasant proprietors, Sismondi, in his "Etudes sur l'Economie Politique," says, "Wherever are found peasant proprietors, are also found that ease, that security, that independence, and that confidence in the future, which insure at the same time happiness and virtue. The peasant, who, with his family, does all the work on his little inheritance, who neither pays rent to any one above him, nor wages to any one below him,

who regulates his production by his consumption, who eats his own corn, drinks his own wine, and is clothed with his own flax and wool, cares little about knowing the price of the market; for he has little to sell and little to buy, and is never ruined by the revolutions of commerce. Far from fearing for the future, it is embellished by his hopes; for he puts out to profit, for his children, or for ages to come, every instant which is not required by the labour of the year. Only a few moments, stolen from otherwise lost time, are required to put into the ground the nut, which in a hundred years will become a large tree; to hollow out the aqueduct, which will drain his field for ever; to form the conduit, which will bring him a spring of water; to improve, by many little labours and attentions bestowed in spare moments, all the kinds of animals and vegetables by which he is surrounded. This little patrimony is a true savings-bank, always ready to receive his little profits, and usefully to employ his leisure moments. The ever-acting powers of nature make his labours fruitful, and return him a hundredfold. The peasant has a strong sense of the happiness attached to the condition of proprietor. Thus he is always eager to purchase land at any price. He pays for it more than it is worth; but what reason he has to esteem at a high price the advantage of thenceforward always employing his labour advantageously, without being obliged to offer it cheap; and of always finding his bread when he wants it, without being obliged to buy it dear!

"The peasant proprietor is, of all cultivators, the

one who obtains most from the soil; for it is he who thinks most of the future, as it is he, who is the most enlightened by experience; it is he also who makes the greatest profit of human labour. . . . . Of all cultivators he is the happiest. Moreover, on a given space, land never produces so much food, or employs so many inhabitants without being exhausted, as when they are proprietors. Lastly, of all cultivators, the peasant proprietor is the one who gives most encouragement to commerce and industry; for he is the richest."

The same author says again*, "When one travels through the whole of Switzerland, and through several parts of France, Italy, and Germany, it is not necessary to inquire, when looking at a piece of land, whether it belongs to a peasant proprietor, or to a farmer holding it under a landlord. The land of the peasant proprietors is marked out by the care bestowed upon it, by the growth of the vegetables and fruits useful to a peasant's family, and by the neatness and perfection of the cultivation."

Mr. Nicholls, in speaking of the small farms of Belgium, says†, "In the farms of six acres, we found no plough, horse, or cart; the only agricultural implement, besides the spade, fork, and wheelbarrow, which we observed, was a light wooden harrow which might be dragged by hand. The farmer had no assistance besides that of his wife and children, excepting some-

* Nouveaux Principes d'Economie Politique, lib. iii. ch. 3.

† Inquiry into the Condition of the Labouring Classes in Holland and Belgium.

times in harvest, when we found he occasionally obtained the aid of a neighbour, or hired a labourer at a franc per day. The whole of the land is dug with the spade, and trenched very deep, but as the soil is light, the labour of digging is not great. The stock on the small farms, which we examined, consisted of a couple of cows, a calf or two, one or two pigs, sometimes a goat or two, and some poultry. The cows are altogether stall fed, on straw, turnips, clover, rye, vetches, carrots, potatoes, and a kind of soup made by boiling up potatoes, peas, beans, bran, cut hay, &c., into one mass, and which, being given warm, is said to be very wholesome, and to promote the secretion of milk. . . . . The small farmer collects in his stable, in a fosse lined with brick, the dung and urine of his cattle. He buys sufficient lime to mingle with the scouring of his ditches, and with the decayed leaves, potato-tops, &c., which he is careful to collect in order to enrich his compost, which, is dug over two or three times in the course of the winter. No portion of the farm is allowed to lie fallow, but it is divided into six or seven small plots, on each of which a system of rotation is adopted; and thus, with the aid of manure, the powers of the soil are maintained unexhausted in a state of constant activity. . . . . The labour of the field, the management of the cattle, the preparation of manure, the regulating the rotation of crops, and the necessity of carrying a certain portion of the produce to market, call for the constant exercise of industry, skill and foresight among the Belgium peasant farmers; and to these qualities they add a rigid economy,

habitual sobriety, and a contented spirit, which finds its chief gratification beneath the domestic roof, from which the father of the family rarely wanders in search of excitement abroad."

Reichensperger, speaking of Belgium, says*: — "The small estates of this country carry away the palm for beautiful cultivation. . . . In the districts of Fermonde and St. Nicholas, where the soil is rich, light, and moist, the land is divided into very small estates of few acres in size. The cultivation of these little properties, — which is greatly assisted by the neighbourhood of the towns and by the abundance of manure, — exhibits wonders of labour and industry, and nourishes a large and flourishing population by two, and even three, harvests a year. The beautiful cultivation of these little estates offers to every unprejudiced mind the clearest proof, that their greater *gross* product is not by any means totally consumed by the producers themselves, but that it yields a rich supply of products to the markets, while it nourishes the great population of the numerous towns of that country in the most excellent manner with all the necessaries of life."

In speaking of the Palatinate, Mr. Howitt, whose habit it is, as Mr. Mill says†, "to see all English objects and English socialities *en beau*, and who, in treating of the Rhenish peasantry, certainly does not underrate the rudeness of their implements and the inferiority of their ploughing, nevertheless shows, that, under the invi-

* Die Agrarfrage, p. 126.

† Principles of Political Economy, vol. i.

gorating influence of the feelings of proprietorship, they make up for the imperfections of their apparatus by the intensity of their application." He says*: "The peasant harrows and clears his land till it is in the nicest order, and it is admirable to see the crops which he obtains." "The peasants are the great and ever-present object of country life. *They are the great population of the country,* because they themselves are the possessors. This country is, in fact, for the most part, in the hands of the people. It is parcelled out among the multitude. . . . The peasants are not, as with us, for the most part, totally cut off from property in the soil they cultivate, and totally dependent on the labour afforded by others; they are themselves the proprietors. It is, perhaps, from this cause that they are probably the most industrious peasantry in the world. They labour busily, early and late, because they feel that they are labouring for themselves. . . . . The German peasants work hard, but they have no actual want. Every man has his house, his orchard, his road-side trees, commonly so heavy with fruit that he is obliged to prop and secure them all ways, or they would be torn to pieces. He has his corn-plot, his plot for mangel-wurzel, for hemp, and so on. He is his own master, and he and every member of his family have the strongest motives to labour. You see the effect of this in that unremitting diligence, which is beyond that of the whole world besides; and his economy, which is still greater. The Germans, indeed, are not so active

* Rural and Domestic Life in Germany, p. 27.; Mill's Political Economy, vol. i. p. 313.

and lively as the English; you never see them in a bustle, or as though they meant to knock off a vast deal in a little time. . . . They are, on the contrary, slow, but for ever doing. They plod on from day to day, and from year to year, the most patient, untirable, and persevering of animals. The English peasant is so cut off from the idea of property that he comes habitually to look upon it as a thing from which he is warned by the laws of the great proprietors, and becomes in consequence spiritless, purposeless. . . . The German bauer, on the contrary, looks on the country as made for him and his fellow men. He feels himself a man; he has a stake in the country as good as that of the bulk of his neighbours; no man can threaten him with ejection or the workhouse so long as he is active and economical. He walks, therefore, with a bold step; he looks you in the face with the air of a free man, but of a respectful one."

This latter observation is singularly correct. The manners of the peasants in Germany and Switzerland form, as I have already said, a very singular contrast to the manners of our peasants. They are polite but independent. The manner of salutation encourages this feeling. If a German gentleman addresses a peasant, he raises his hat before the poor man, as we do before ladies. The peasant replies by a polite "Pray be covered, Sir," and then, in good German, answers the questions put to him. Among all the men below the age of thirty-five, the good education given to them in the schools and in the army has tended to diminish, and, in some parts, altogether

to get rid of, provincial dialects; so that, in almost every case, a traveller, who knows German, can easily understand a German or Swiss peasant; and he will constantly hear them speak in the purest accent of the metropolis. This adds greatly to the pleasure of travelling about among the German and Swiss villages, as a tourist can almost always make companions of the peasants. The poorer classes of these countries so strongly feel, that their situation in life depends on their own conduct, and that the richer men are only richer because they, or their immediate ancestors, have acted in life more prudently, that the mere fact of a man's having a better coat on his back and more polished manners than themselves, neither creates in their minds jealousy, nor renders the intercourse with such a person embarrassing to them. The fact of their being proprietors, or of their being able to make themselves proprietors, begets a certain gentlemanly and independent bearing in a Swiss and German peasant, which one seldom sees in any part of our own country.

Mr. Howitt continues to describe the German peasants and their industry as follows: —

"He has no ambition to be other than he is; he wears the costume which his fathers wore, — the long coat and cocked or hollow-sided hat, the bauer's costume, — and he turns everything about him to account. . . . . Nothing that can be possibly made use of is lost. The children may be seen standing in the stream in the villages carefully washing weeds before they are given to the cattle. As we meet them and the women, with large bundles of grass on their heads

tied in large cloths, one cannot but call to mind the immense quantities by our highway sides and great green lanes in England, and by wood sides, which grow and wither, but which might support many a poor man's cow. But with the German peasant it is not merely grass, it is everything, which is collected and appropriated. The cuttings of his vines are dried and trussed for winter fodder; the very tops and refuse of his hemp are saved for the bedding of his cattle; nay, the rough stalks of his poppies, after the heads are gathered, serve the same purpose, and are all converted into manure. When these are not sufficient, the children gather moss in the woods; and, in summer, you constantly meet them coming down out of the hills with their great bundles of it. In autumn they gather the very fungi out of the woods to sell for poisoning flies, and the stalks of a tall species of grass to sell for cleaning out their long pipes. Nothing is lost; the leaves in the woods are raked up as they fall, and are brought home before winter for bedding cattle. The fir cones, which with us lie all scattered on the forest, are carefully collected to light their fires, or are carried in sacks and sold in the cities for that purpose. The slop from their yards and stables is all preserved, and carried to the fields in water-carts to irrigate their crops. The economy and care of the German peasant afford a striking lesson to all Europe. Time is as carefully economised as everything else. The peasants are early risers, and thus obtain hours of the day's beauty and freshness which others lose."

In Germany and Switzerland the peasants rise a little

before five. They then take a cup of coffee and go out. The Romanist churches and cathedrals are all open, and services are performed at five. Most of the Romanist peasants go in to prayers before going to their labour. It is a curious sight to see the women deposit their milk-pails, and the men their farming-tools, at the doors of the Romanist churches, go in to prayers, remain there about a quarter of an hour, and then, taking up their pails and tools, start for the fields and cattle. The priests of the canton of Friburg, in Switzerland, told me, that they were all obliged by turn to rise between four and five in summer, in order to perform the early matins at five for the peasants. At about eight, the peasants return home for breakfast. Before going out, they do not take more than a little coffee and a piece of bread.

Mr. Howitt, in another part of his work on Germany, with reference to the same subject, says*, "There is not an hour of the year in which they do not find unceasing occupation. In the depth of winter, when the weather permits them by any means to get out of doors, they are always finding something to do. They carry out their manure to their lands, while the frost is in them. If there is not frost, they are busy cleaning ditches, and felling old fruit-trees, or such as do not bear well. Such of them as are too poor to lay in a sufficient stock of wood, find plenty of work in ascending into the mountainous woods, and bringing thence fuel. It would astonish the English common

* Rural and Domestic Life in Germany, p. 44.

people to see the intense labour with which the Germans earn their firewood. In the depth of frost and snow, go into any of their hills and woods, and there you find them hacking up stumps, cutting off branches, and gathering, by all means which the official wood police will allow, boughs, stakes, and pieces of wood, which they convey home with the most incredible toil and patience." After a description of their careful and laborious vineyard culture, he continues*: — "In England, with its great quantity of grass lands, and its large farms, so soon as the grain is in, and the fields are shut up for hay grass, the country seems in a comparative state of rest and quiet. But here, they are everywhere and for ever hoeing and mowing, planting and cutting, weeding and gathering. They have a succession of crops, like a market-gardener. They have their carrots, poppies, hemp, flax, saintfoin, lucerne, rape, colewort, cabbage, rotabaga, black turnips, swedish and white turnips, teazles, Jerusalem artichokes, mangel-wurzel, parsneps, kidney-beans, field beans and peas, vetches, Indian corn, buck-wheat madder for the manufacturer, potatoes, their great crop of tobacco, millet — all or the greater part under the family management, in their own family allotments. They have had these things first to sow, many of them to transplant, to hoe, to weed, to clear off insects, to top; many of them to mow and gather in successive crops. They have their water-meadows — of which kind almost all their meadows are — to flood, to mow, and reflood; water-courses

* Rural and Domestic Life in Germany, p. 50.

to re-open and to make anew; their early fruits to gather, to bring to market, with their green crops of vegetables; their cattle, sheep, calves, fowls (most of them prisoners), and poultry to look after; their vines, as they shoot rampantly in the summer heat, to prune, and thin out the leaves when they are too thick; and any one may imagine what a scene of incessant labour it is."

Mr. Mill *, in commenting on these remarks of Mr. Howitt's, says: — "This interesting sketch, to the general truth of which any observant traveller in that highly cultivated and populous region can bear witness, accords with the more elaborate delineation by a distinguished inhabitant, Professor Rau, in his little treatise on 'The Agriculture of the Palatinate.' †"

I have already shown ‡, what decisive testimony this able writer bears to the industry, skill, and intelligence of the peasant-proprietors of these provinces; as well as to their scientific preparation and economy of manure; their excellent rotation of crops; the progressive improvement of their agriculture for generations past, and the spirit of further improvement which is still active; the indefatigableness of the country-people; their careful study of the seasons; their excellent distribution of their labours; and their zeal in turning to use every circumstance which presents itself, in seizing upon every useful novelty which offers, and even in searching out new and advantageous methods.

* Principles of Political Economy, vol. i. p. 15.

† Uber die Landwirthschaft die Rheinpfalz und insbesondere in der Heidelberger Gegend. Von D. Karl Heinrich Rau, Heidelberg, 1830.

‡ Supra, pp. 122, 123.

The writers on the state and progress of the Swiss cantons bear similar testimony to the happy results of releasing the land in those cantons from the old feudal laws of tenure, settlement, and devises, and of enabling the peasants to acquire.

Herr Strohmeier, in describing the progress, which agriculture has made in the canton of Solothurn, since the peasants were freed from the feudal burdens, and became the proprietors of the land, says*: "In the time of the old aristocracy, the peasant behind the plough was prized scarcely any higher, than the cattle before the same. He was cramped and injured in his rights. He was weighed down by taxes, tithes, and payments. The fruit of his industry was consumed by idle priests and landlords, who kept him in dark ignorance and in wretched superstition. What was there in those times to urge the peasant or the farmer to industry and activity, or to a better cultivation of the land?"

Herr Strohmeier then says, that since the peasants have been enabled to purchase their lands, and make themselves proprietors, and since the intellect of the people has been raised and enlightened by means of the schools and the teachers, the system of agriculture, the agricultural implements, the cultivation of the meadows, their irrigation and manuring, the cultivation of the gardens, and the industry of the people, have, with few exceptions, greatly improved. He says, that the example of the Bernese has stimulated the people of Soleure very greatly, and that the cultivation of the

* Gemälde der Schweitz, vol. x. p. 81.

greatest part of the canton has attained a very high degree of perfection.

Several of the writers on the different cantons of Switzerland are of opinion, that the subdivision in some parts is extreme, and that it is in such cases injurious to scientific and economical farming, when compared to the farming of the *freehold* estates of from fifty to twenty acres; but they all agree, that, even in the cases of the smaller farms, the industry and unwearied perseverance of the owners is quite wonderful, and none of these writers ever think of comparing the cultivation of leasehold estates to that of estates cultivated by the owners themselves.

Thus Professor Vulliemin, in describing the progress of agriculture in the canton of Vaud, after saying that the subdivision is excessive, and that a landowner who possesses fifteen acres is considered to be well off (wohlhabend), writes thus *: — "From this great subdivision of the land spring both good and evil. The land, which is cultivated by occupiers who are themselves the owners of the soil, is farmed with extraordinary (ungewohnlichen) care and industry, although often with more unscientific hands, and at greater cost, than that of the larger proprietor farmers."

Professor Vulliemin says, however, that this great subdivision is lessening, and that the smallest of the estates are being united again. As the peasants get better educated, they learn to calculate better, what quantity of land will best repay one man's or one

* Germälde der Schweitz, vol. xix. p. 305.

family's labours; and they acquire a desire to take a higher and more comfortable position in society, than that of the smallest proprietors. They are not content to settle down upon the smallest farms. They defer their marriages until they can purchase larger farms, and more respectable positions among their neighbours. The more education advances, the more will the excessive subdivision diminish.

But even where the subdivision is too great for the most economical farming, still even there all the authorities concur in asserting, that the condition of the peasantry is most prosperous, that it has been steadily and continuously improving, and that the industry of the small farmers is quite wonderful.

Herr von Knonau, in speaking of the agriculture of the canton of Zurick, says*: "With few exceptions the land is very much subdivided, one may almost say, split up. There are very few estates of 100 acres, and scarcely five of more than 200 acres in size. . . . . The canton of Zurick shows what industry is able to win from the ground. The Zurick peasant has cultivated his little plot of ground with such intense industry, that his field agriculture, in many parts of the canton, and especially on the borders of the lake, resembles the cultivation of a garden. There, too, you may find the most valuable deposits of manure, beautiful meadows, the finest orchards, and the most productive vineyard cultivation." Herr von Knonau says, in another part of the same report, that

* Gemälde der Schweitz, vol. i. p. 243.

since the government has sold to the peasants lands, which formerly belonged to the state, and has in this manner created a great number of new small peasants' properties, *very often a third or a fourth of the land which formerly belonged to the state, and was let out to farmers, produces at present as much corn, and supports as many head of cattle, as the whole estate formerly did when it was cultivated by leasehold tenants.**

To the same effect is the testimony of Herr Pupikofer, member of the Council of Education of the canton of Thurgovie, in his account of this canton. He says†, the division of the great tracts of land belonging to the government, and the creation of small peasant-properties out of them, has had this effect, that often *a third or a fourth of the original estate produces now as much corn, and supports as many cattle, as the whole of the original estate did when it was cultivated by lessees.* Herr Pupikofer, however, agrees with several of the Swiss writers in thinking, that, although the division of the land among the peasants improves the productiveness of the land and the moral character of the peasants, it is injurious, to the former, when subdivided in portions of *less* than an acre in size; and he suggests that a minimum ought to be defined by law, and that no plots of land should be allowed to be sold which are in size below this minimum.

Herr von Knonau gives also a long and very interesting account of the exceeding great care bestowed by the peasant-farmers of the canton of Zurich in managing their cattle, and in collecting and preparing the manure

* Germälde der Schweitz, vol. i. p. 245. † Ibid. vol. xvii. p. 73.

for their lands.* I shall give the substance of this account, as it is another proof of the industry, intelligence, and scientific economy and management, which always distinguish peasant proprietors. Let my readers compare the following facts, with the waste, which they must have observed in most of our English farms: —

The length of the shippen depends upon the number of cattle kept by the farmer. It is divided into stalls. Along the bottom of these stalls a space of about four or five feet is left open as a passage. Between the stalls and the passage an open stone-gutter is made, to carry off the drainings of the stalls. These latter slope very gently down to the gutter. The floor of the upper part of the stall is generally boarded, and upon the boards is spread some gravel or sand, in order that the cattle may find a good hold for their fore feet, and may be able to raise themselves easily from the ground.

The oxen and horses are fastened in the stalls nearest, and the cows in those furthest from the door, as these latter are not so often taken out of the shippens as the former.

A fresh bed is laid down under each cow, at least twice a day, generally in the mornings and in the evenings, before milking. Whoever has sufficient straw, changes the bedding three or four times a day. Every morning, at an early hour, each stall is cleaned out, and all the dung and old bedding are turned out into the well prepared for them in the farm-yard. Into this well, the gutter, which runs down the shippen at the bottom

* Gemälde der Schweitz, vol. i. p. 249.

of the stalls, is made to empty itself, so that the liquid manure may run into the dung and old bedding, and mix with them. The contents of the well are taken out several times a week, and are thrown upon the dung-heap. The liquid manure, which remains in the well, is then mixed with water, and is carried out upon the fields and spread over them by means of hand watering-carts. All the manure from the house is also preserved and mixed with the rest upon the dung-heap. In the towns, also, the manure is carefully preserved, and is sold out to those farmers, who cannot obtain a sufficient quantity from their own farm-yards.

In different parts of the canton, the manure obtained from the farm-yards, in the manner I have above narrated, is mixed with various ingredients, in order to make it suitable for the peculiar character of the land for which it is intended.

In Switzerland, the size of the estates varies generally from one acre to one hundred and fifty. Some few estates of greater size are to be found, but they are very rare.

Most of the married peasants, and most of the inhabitants of the smaller towns, possess as their own property either a farm or at least a garden.

Herr von Knonau, the keeper of the archives of the canton of Zurick, says *, that formerly many of the houses were thatched; but that of late years the custom of thatching houses has been given up, partly because the science of agriculture has been so much improved,

* Gemälde der Schweitz, vol. i. p. 235.

that the people are not willing to expend upon the covering of the houses straw and other materials, which are useful in making good manures.

These pictures of unwearied assiduity, and what may be called, affectionate interest in the land, are borne out, in regard to the more intelligent cantons of Switzerland, by English observers. "In walking anywhere in the neighbourhood of Zurick," says Mr. Inglis*, "in looking to the right or to the left, one is struck with the extraordinary industry of the inhabitants; and if we learn that a proprietor here has a return of ten per cent. we are inclined to say, 'he deserves it.' I speak at present of country labour; though I believe that in every kind of trade, also, the people of Zurick are remarkable for their assiduity; but in the industry they show in the cultivation of their land, I may safely say they are unrivalled. When I used to open my casement between four and five in the morning, to look out upon the lake and the distant Alps, I saw the labourer in the fields; and when I returned from an evening walk, long after sunset, as late perhaps as half past eight, there was the labourer mowing his grass, or tying up his vines. . . . . It is impossible to look at a field, a garden, a hedging, scarcely even a tree, a flower, or a vegetable, without perceiving proofs of the extreme care and industry, that are bestowed upon the cultivation of the soil. If, for example, a path runs through, or by the side of a field of grain, the corn is not, as in England, permitted to hang

* Quoted by Mr. Mill in his Political Economy, vol. i. p. 304.

over the path, exposed to be pulled or trodden down by every passer; it is everywhere bounded by a fence; stakes are placed at intervals of about a yard, and about two or three feet from the ground, boughs of trees are passed longitudinally along. If you look into a field towards evening, where there are large beds of cauliflower or cabbage, you will find that every single plant has been watered. In the gardens, which around Zurick are extremely large, the most punctilious care is evinced in every production that grows. The vegetables are planted with seemingly mathematical accuracy; not a *single weed is to be seen, not a single stone.* Plants are not earthed up as with us; but are planted each in a small hollow, into which a little manure is put, and each plant is watered daily. Where seeds are sown, the earth directly above is broken into the finest powder; every shrub, every flower, is tied to a stake; and where there is wall-fruit, a trellis is erected against a wall, to which the boughs are fastened; and there is not a single thing that has not its appropriate resting-place."

Of one of the remote valleys of the High Alps, the same writer thus expresses himself: — "In the whole of the Engadine, the land belongs to the peasantry, who, like the inhabitants of every other place where this state of things exists, vary greatly in the extent of their possessions. . . . . Generally speaking, an Engadine peasant lives entirely upon the produce of his land, with the exception of the few articles of foreign growth required in his family, such as coffee, sugar, and wine. Flax is grown, prepared, spun, and woven, without ever

leaving his house. He has his own wool, which is converted into a blue coat, without passing through the hands of either the dyer or the tailor. The country is incapable of greater cultivation than it has received. All has been done for it, that industry and an extreme love of gain can devise. There is not a foot of waste land in the Engadine, the lowest part of which is not much lower than the top of Snowdon. Wherever grass will grow, there it is; wherever a rock will bear a blade, verdure is seen upon it; wherever an ear of rye will ripen, there it is to be found. Barley and oats have also their appropriate spots; and wherever it is possible to ripen a little patch of wheat, the cultivation of it is attempted. In no country in Europe will be found so few poor as in the Engadine. In the village of Suss, which contains about six hundred inhabitants, there is not a single individual, who has not wherewithal to live comfortably; not a single individual, who is indebted to others for one morsel that he eats."

One of the countries, in which peasant proprietors are of oldest date and most numerous in proportion to the population, is Norway. Of the social and economical condition of that country a very interesting account has been given by Mr. Laing. He describes the effects of the subdivision of land in that country, as being most satisfactory in every respect. I shall quote a few passages: —*

"If small proprietors are not good farmers, it is not from the same cause here, which we are told makes them so in Scotland — indolence and want of exertion. The

* Quoted in Mill's Political Economy, vol. i.

extent, to which irrigation is carried on in these glens and valleys, shows a spirit *of exertion and co-operation*, to which the latter can show nothing similar. Hay being the principal winter support of live stock, and both it and corn, as well as potatoes, being liable, from the shallow soil and powerful reflection of sunshine from the rocks, to be burnt and withered up, the greatest exertions are made to bring water from the head of each glen, along such a level, as will give the command of it to each farmer at the head of his fields. This is done, by leading it in wooden troughs (the half of a tree roughly scooped) from the highest perennial stream among the hills, through woods, across ravines, and along the rocky, often perpendicular, sides of the glens; and by giving from this main trough a lateral one to each farmer in passing the head of his farm. He distributes this supply by moveable troughs, among his fields; and at this season waters each rig successively with scoops, like those used by bleachers in watering cloth, laying his trough between every two rigs. One would not believe, without seeing it, how very large an extent of land is traversed expeditiously by these artificial showers. The extent of the main troughs is very great. In one glen, I walked ten miles, and found it troughed on both sides; on one, the chain is continued down the main valley for forty miles. Those may be bad farmers, who do such things; but they are not indolent, nor ignorant of the principle of working in concert, and keeping up establishments for common benefit. They are undoubtedly, in these respects, far in advance of any community of cotters in our Highland glens. They feel as proprietors, who re-

ceive the advantage of their own exertions. The excellent state of the roads and bridges is another proof, that the country is inhabited by people, who have a common interest to keep it under repair. There are no tolls."

On the admirable effects of peasant proprietorship in other parts of Europe, the same writer expresses himself as follows:—*

"If we listen to the large farmer, the scientific agriculturist, the (English) political economist, good farming must perish with large farms; the very idea that good farming can exist, unless on large farms cultivated with great capital, they hold to be absurd. Draining, manuring, economical arrangement, cleaning the land, regular rotations, valuable stock and implements, all belong exclusively to large farms, worked by large capital and by hired labour. This reads very well; but if we raise our eyes from their books to their fields, and coolly compare, what we see in the best districts farmed in large farms, and what we see in the best districts farmed in small farms, we see, and there is no blinking the fact, better crops on the ground in Flanders, East Friesland, Holstein, in short, on the whole line of the arable land of equal quality of the Continent, from the Sound to Calais, than we see on the line of British coast, opposite to this line and in the same latitudes, from the Frith of Forth all round to Dover. Minute labour on small portions of arable ground gives evidently, in equal soils and climate, a *superior* productiveness, where these small portions *belong in property*,

* Quoted in Mill's Political Economy, vol. i.

as in Flanders, Holland, Friesland, and Ditmarsh in Holstein, to the farmer. It is not pretended, by our agricultural writers, that our large farmers, even in Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, or the Lothians, approach to the garden-like cultivation, attention to manures, drainage, and clean state of the land, or in productiveness from a small space of soil, not originally rich, which distinguish the small farmers of Flanders or their system. In the best-farmed parish in Scotland or England, more land is wasted in the corners and borders of the fields of large farms; in the roads through them, unnecessarily wide because they are bad, and bad because they are wide; in neglected commons, waste spots, useless belts and clumps of sorry trees, and such unproductive areas; than would maintain the poor of the parish, if they were all laid together and cultivated. But large capital applied to farming is, of course, only applied to the very best of the soils of a country. It cannot touch the small unproductive spots, which require more time and labour to fertilise them, than is consistent with a quick return of capital. But, although hired time and labour cannot be applied beneficially to such cultivation, the owner's own time and labour may. He is working for no higher returns, at first, from his land than a bare living. But, in the course of generations, fertility and value are produced; a better living, and even very improved processes of husbandry, are attained. Furrow draining, stall feeding all summer, liquid manures, are universal in the husbandry of the small farms of Flanders, Lombardy, and Switzerland. Our most improving districts, under large farms, are but

beginning to adopt them. Dairy husbandry even, and the manufacture of the largest cheeses, by the co-operation of many small farmers — the mutual assurance of property against fire and hail-storms, by the co-operation of small farmers — the most scientific and expensive of all agricultural operations in modern times, the manufacture of beet-root sugar — the supply of the European markets with flax and hemp, by the husbandry of small farmers — the abundance of legumes, fruits, poultry, in the usual diet even of the lowest classes abroad, and the total want of such variety at the tables even of our middle classes, and this variety and abundance essentially connected with the husbandry of small farmers — all these are features in the occupation of a country by small proprietor farmers, which must make the inquirer pause, before he admits the dogma of our land doctors at home, that large farms worked by hired labour and great capital can alone bring out the greatest productiveness of the soil, and furnish the greatest supply of the necessaries and conveniences of life to the inhabitants of a country."

The scientific and economical manner in which the Swiss peasant proprietors combine to carry on cheese making by their united capital, deserves to be noted.* "Each parish in Switzerland hires a man, generally from the district of Gruyère, in the Canton of Friburg, to take care of the herd and make the cheese. One cheeseman, one pressman or assistant, and one cow-herd, are considered necessary for every forty cows.

* Notes of a Traveller, p. 351.; Mill's Principles of Political Economy, vol. i.

The owners of the cows get credit each of them, in a book daily, for the quantity of milk given by each cow. The cheeseman and his assistants milk the cows, put the milk all together, and make cheese of it, and at the end of the season, each owner receives the weight of cheese, proportionate to the quantity of milk his cows have delivered. By this co-operative plan, instead of the small-sized unmarketable cheeses only, which each could produce out of his three or four cows' milk, he has the same weight in large marketable cheese, superior in quality, because made by people who attend to no other business. The cheeseman and his assistants are paid so much per head of the cows, in money or in cheese; or sometimes they hire the cows, and pay the owners in money or cheese." A similar system exists in the French Jura. One of the most remarkable points in this interesting case of combination of labour, is the confidence, which it supposes, and which experience must justify, in the integrity of the persons employed.

The admirable and scientific character of the system of farming pursued by the small farmers and peasant-proprietors of Holland, is attested by the writer of a carefully prepared, systematic treatise on Flemish husbandry, in the Farmer's Series of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. He observes, that the Flemish agriculturist* "seems to want nothing but a space to work upon. Whatever be the quality or texture of the soil, in time he will make it produce something. The sand in the Campine can be compared to

* Geographical Dictionary, art. "Belgium," pp. 4. 11.; Mill's Principles of Political Economy, vol. i. p. 316.

nothing but the sands on the sea-shore, which they probably were originally. It is highly interesting to follow, step by step, the progress of improvement. Here you see a cottage and rude cow-shed erected on a spot of the most unpromising aspect. The loose white sand blown into irregular mounds, is only kept together by the roots of the heath; a small spot only is levelled and surrounded by a ditch; part of this is covered with young broom, part is planted with potatoes, and perhaps a small patch of diminutive clover may show itself; but manures, both solid and liquid, are collecting, and this is the nucleus from which, in a few years, a little farm will spread around. . . . . If there is no manure at hand, the only thing that can be sown on pure sand, at first, is broom: this grows in the most barren soils; in three years it is fit to cut, and produces some return in faggots for the bakers and brickmakers. The leaves which have fallen have somewhat enriched the soil, and the fibres of the roots have given a certain degree of compactness. It may now be sown with buck-wheat, or even with rye, without manure. By the time this is reaped, some manure may have been collected, and a regular course of cropping may begin. As soon as clover and potatoes enable the farmer to keep cows and make manure, the improvement goes on rapidly; in a few years the soil undergoes a complete change; it becomes mellow and retentive of moisture, and enriched by the vegetable matter afforded by the decomposition of the roots of clover and other plants. . . . . After the land has been gradually brought into a good state, and is cultivated in a regular manner, there ap-

pears much less difference between the soils, which have been originally good, and those, which have been made so by labour and industry — at least, the crops in both appear more nearly alike at harvest, than is the case in soils of different qualities in other countries. This is a great proof of the excellency of the Flemish system; for it shows, that the land is in a constant state of improvement, and that the deficiency of the soil is compensated by greater attention to tillage and manuring, especially the latter."

Mr. Mill, in reasoning on the preceding account of Flemish husbandry, says *: — "The people, who labour thus intensely, *because labouring for themselves*, have practised for centuries those principles of rotation of crops and economy of manures, which in England are counted among modern discoveries; and even now, the superiority of their agriculture, as a whole, to that of England, is admitted by competent judges. 'The cultivation of a poor light soil, or a moderate soil,' says the writer last quoted †, 'is generally superior in Flanders to that of the most improved farms of the same kind in Britain. We surpass the Flemish farmer greatly in capital, in varied implements of tillage, in the choice and breeding of cattle and sheep' (though, according to the same authority ‡, they are much 'before us in the feeding of their cows'), 'and the British farmer is in general a man of superior education to the Flemish peasant. But in the minute attention to the qualities of the soil, in the management and application of

* See Principles of Political Economy, vol. i.

† Flemish Husbandry, p. 3. ‡ Ibid. p. 13.

manures of different kinds, in the judicious succession of crops, and especially in the economy of land, so that every part of it shall be in a constant state of production, we have still something to learn from the Flemings,' and not from an instructed and enterprising Fleming here and there, but from the general practice.

"Much of the most highly cultivated part of the country consists of peasant properties, managed by the proprietors, always either wholly or partly by spade husbandry. 'When * the land is cultivated entirely by the spade and no horses are kept, a cow is kept for every three acres of land, and entirely fed on artificial grasses or roots. This mode of cultivation is principally adopted in the Waes district, where properties are very small. All the labour is done by the different members of the family;' children soon beginning 'to assist in various minute operations, according to their age and strength, such as weeding, hoeing, feeding the cows. If they can raise rye and wheat enough to make their bread, and potatoes, turnips, carrots, and clover for the cows, they do well; and the produce of the sale of their rape-seed, their flax, their hemp, and their butter, after deducting the expense of manure purchased, which is always considerable, gives them a very good profit. Supposing the whole extent of the land to be six acres, which is not an uncommon occupation, and which one man can manage,' then (after describing the cultivation) 'if a man with his wife and three young children are considered as equal to three and a half grown up men,

* Flemish Husbandry, pp. 73, *et seq.*

the family will require thirty-nine bushels of grain, forty-nine bushels of potatoes, a fat hog, and the butter and milk of one cow. 'An acre and a half of land will produce the grain and potatoes, and allow some corn to finish the fattening of the hog, which has the extra buttermilk; another acre in clover, carrots, and potatoes, together with the stubble turnips, will more than feed the cow; consequently two acres and a half of land are sufficient to feed this family, and the produce of the other three and a half may be sold to pay the rent or the interest of purchase-money, wear and tear of implements, extra manure, and clothes for the family. But these acres are the most profitable in the farm, for the hemp, flax, and colza are included; and by having another acre in clover and roots, a second cow can be kept, and its produce sold. We have, therefore, a solution of the problem, how a family can live and thrive on six acres of moderate land.' After showing, by calculation, that this extent of land can be cultivated in the most perfect manner by the family, without any aid from hired labour, the writer continues, 'In a farm of *ten* acres, entirely cultivated by the spade, the addition of a man and a woman to the members of the family will render all the operations more easy; and, with a horse and cart to carry out the manure, and bring home the produce, and occasionally draw the harrows, *fifteen* acres may be very well cultivated. . . . . Thus it will be seen' (this is the result of some pages of details and calculations *) 'that by spade husbandry, an indus-

* Flemish Husbandry, p. 81.

trious man with a small capital, occupying only fifteen acres of good light land, may not only live and bring up a family, *paying a good rent*, but may accumulate a considerable sum in the course of his life.' But the indefatigable industry, by which he accomplishes this, and of which so large a portion is expended, not in the mere cultivation, but in the improvement, for a distant return, of the soil itself — has that industry no connection with *not* paying the rent? Could it exist without presupposing, at least, a virtually permanent tenure?

"As to their mode of living,' 'the Flemish farmers and labourers live much more economically than the same class in England; they seldom eat meat, except on Sundays and in harvest; buttermilk and potatoes, with brown bread, is their daily food.' It is on this kind of evidence that English travellers, as they hurry through Europe, pronounce the peasantry of every Continental country poor and miserable; its agricultural and social system a failure; and the English the only *régime* under which labourers are well off. It is, truly enough, the only *régime* under which labourers, whether well off or not, *never attempt to be better*. So little are English observers accustomed to consider it possible, that a labourer should not spend all he earns, that they habitually mistake the signs of *economy* for those of *poverty*. Observe the true interpretation of the phenomena.

" ' Accordingly, *they are gradually acquiring capital*, and their great ambition is to have land of their own. They eagerly seize every opportunity of purchasing a

small farm, and the price is so raised by the competition, that land pays little more than two per cent. interest for the purchase-money. Large properties gradually disappear, and are divided into small portions, which sell at a high rate. But the wealth and industry of the population is continually increasing, being rather diffused through the masses, than accumulated in individuals.'

"With facts like these known and accessible *, it is not a little surprising to find the case of Flanders referred to, not in recommendation of peasant properties, but as a warning against them, on no better ground, than a presumptive excess of population, inferred from the distress, which existed among the peasantry of Brabant and East Flanders, in the disastrous years 1846, 1847. The evidence, which I have cited from a writer conversant with the subject, and having no economical theory to support, shows that the distress, whatever may have have been its severity, arose from no insufficiency in these little properties to supply abundantly, in any ordinary circumstances, the wants of all whom they have to maintain. It arose, from the essential condition, to which those are subject, who employ land of their own in growing their own food, namely, that the vicissitudes of the seasons must be borne by themselves, and cannot, as in the case of large farmers, be shifted from them to the consumer. When we remember the season of 1846, a partial failure of all kinds of grain, and an almost total one of the potatoes,

* Mr. Mill's Principles of Political Economy, vol. i. p. 321.

it is no wonder, that in so unusual a calamity, the produce of six acres, half of them sown with flax, hemp, or oil seeds, should fall short of a year's provision for a family. But we are not to contrast the distressed Flemish peasant, with an English capitalist, who farms several hundred acres of land. If the peasant were an Englishman, he would not be a capitalist, but a day-labourer under a capitalist; and is there no distress in times of dearth among day-labourers? Was there none that year, in countries where small proprietors and small farmers are unknown? Is there any reason whatever to believe, that the distress was greater in Belgium, than corresponds to the proportional extent of the failure of crops compared with other countries?

"It is from France, however, that impressions unfavourable to peasant properties are generally drawn; it is in France, that the system is so often asserted to have brought forth its fruit, in the most wretched possible agriculture, and to be rapidly reducing, if not to have already reduced, the peasantry, by subdivision of land, to the verge of starvation. *It is difficult to account for the general prevalence of impressions so much the reverse of the truth.* The agriculture of France *was* wretched, and the peasantry in great indigence *before*, the revolution. At that time they were not, generally speaking, landed proprietors. There were, however, considerable districts of France, where the land even then was, to a great extent, the property of the peasantry, and among these, were many of the most conspicuous exceptions to the general bad agriculture and to the general poverty. An authority, on this point

not to be disputed, is ARTHUR YOUNG, the inveterate enemy of small farms, the *Coryphæus* of the modern English school of agriculturists, who, nevertheless, while travelling over nearly the whole of France in 1787, 1788, and 1789, when he finds remarkable excellence of cultivation, NEVER HESITATES TO ASCRIBE IT TO PEASANT PROPERTY. 'Leaving Sauve,' says he*, 'I was much struck with a large tract of land, seemingly nothing but huge rocks; yet most of it inclosed and planted with the most industrious attention. Every man has an olive, a mulberry, an almond, or a peach tree, and vines scattered among them; so that the whole ground is covered with the oddest mixture of these plants and bulging rocks, that can be conceived. The inhabitants of this village deserve encouragement for their industry; and if I were a French minister, they should have it. They would soon turn all the deserts around them into gardens. Such a knot of active husbandmen, who turn their rocks into scenes of fertility, because I suppose *their own, would do the same by the wastes, if animated by the same omnipotent principle.*' Again†, 'Walk to Rossendal' (near Dunkirk), 'where M. le Brun has an improvement on the dunes, which he very obligingly showed me. Between the town and that place is a great number of neat little houses, built each with its garden, and one or two fields inclosed, of most wretched, blowing, *dune* sand, naturally as white as snow, but improved by industry. *The magic of property turns sand to gold.*' And again‡, 'Going out of

* Arthur Young's Travels in France, vol. i. p. 50.

† Ibid. p. 88. ‡ Ibid. p. 51.

Gange, I was surprised to find by far the greatest exertion in irrigation, which I had yet seen in France; and then passed by some steep mountains highly cultivated in terraces. Much watering at St. Lawrence. The scenery very interesting to a farmer. From Gange to the mountain of rough ground, which I crossed, the ride has been the most interesting which I have taken in France; the *efforts of industry the most vigorous; the animation the most lively. An activity has been here, that has swept away all difficulties before it, and has clothed the very rocks with verdure.* It would be a disgrace to common sense to ask the cause; *the enjoyment of property must have done it.* Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert.'

" In his description of the country at the foot of the Western Pyrenees, he says*, 'I took the road to Moneng, and came presently to a scene, which was *so new* to me in France, that I could hardly believe my own eyes. A succession of many well-built, tight, and *comfortable* farming cottages, built of stones and covered with tiles; each having its little garden, enclosed by clipt thorn-hedges, with plenty of peach and other fruit trees, some fine oaks scattered in the hedges, and young trees nursed up with so much care, that nothing but the fostering attention of the owner could effect any thing like it. To every house belongs a farm perfectly well enclosed, with grass borders mown and neatly kept

* Young, pp. 322—324.

around the cornfields, with gates to pass from one inclosure to another. There are some parts of England (where small yeomen still remain) that resemble this country of Béarn; but we have very little that is equal to what I have seen in this ride of twelve miles from Pau to Moneng. *It is all in the hands of little proprietors,* without the farms being so small as to occasion a vicious and miserable population. An air of neatness, warmth, and comfort, breathes over the whole. It is visible in their new-built houses and stables; in their little gardens; in their hedges; in the courts before their doors; even in the coops for their poultry, and the sties for their hogs. A peasant does not think of rendering his pig comfortable, if his own happiness hang by a thread of a nine years' lease. We are now in Béarn, within a few miles of the cradle of Henry IV. Do they inherit these blessings from that good prince? The benignant genius of that good monarch seems to reign still over the country; each peasant has the *fowl in the pot.*' He frequently notices the excellence of the agriculture of French Flanders where the farms '*are all small, and much in the hands of little proprietors:*' * In the Pays de Caux, also a country of small proprietors, the agriculture was miserable; of which his explanation was, that it 'is a manufacturing country, and farming is but a secondary pursuit to the cotton fabric, which spreads over the whole of it.' † The same district is still a seat of manufactures, and a country of small proprietors; *and is now, whether we judge from*

* Young, pp. 322—324. † Ibid. p. 325.

the appearance of the crops or from the official returns, one of the best cultivated in France. In 'Flanders, Alsace, and part of Artois, as well as on the banks of the Garonne, France possesses a husbandry equal to our own.'* These countries, and a considerable part of Meecy, '*are cultivated more like gardens, from the smallness of properties.*'† In those districts the admirable rotation of crops, so long practised in Italy, but at that time generally neglected in France, was already universal. 'The rapid succession of crops, the harvest of one being but the signal for sowing immediately for a second' (the same fact which must strike all observers in the valley of the Rhine) 'can scarcely be carried to greater perfection; and this is a point perhaps of all others the most essential to good husbandry, when such crops are so justly distributed as we generally find them in the provinces; cleaning and ameliorating ones being made the preparation for such as foul and exhaust.'

It must not, however, be supposed that Arthur Young's testimony on the subject of peasant properties is uniformly favourable. In Lorraine, Champagne, and elsewhere, he finds the agriculture bad, and the small proprietors very miserable, in consequence, as he says, of the extreme subdivision of the land. His opinion is thus summed up‡:—'Before I travelled, I conceived that small farms *in property* were very susceptible of good cultivation, and that the occupier of such, having no rent to pay, might be sufficiently at his case to work improvements, and carry on a vigorous

* Young, vol. i. p. 357. † Ibid. p. 364.

‡ Ibid. p. 412.

husbandry; but what I have seen in France has greatly lessened my good opinion of them. In Flanders, I saw excellent husbandry on properties of thirty to one hundred acres; but we seldom find here such small patches of property as are common in other provinces. In Alsace and on the Garonne, that is on soils of such exuberant fertility, as to demand no exertions, some small properties also are well cultivated. In Béarn I passed through a region of little farmers, whose appearance, neatness, ease, and happiness charmed me; it was what *property* alone could, on a small scale, effect; but these were by no means contemptibly small: they are, as I judged from the distance, from house to house, from forty to eighty acres. Except these, and a very few other instances, I saw nothing respectable on small properties, except a most unremitting industry. Indeed, it is necessary to impress on the reader's mind, that though the husbandry I met with, in a great variety of instances on little properties, was as bad as can well be conceived, yet the industry of the possessors was so conspicuous and so meritorious, that no commendations could be too great for it. It was sufficient to prove that property in land is, of all others, the most active instigator to severe and incessant labour, and this truth is of such force and extent, that I know no way so sure of carrying tillage to a mountain top, as by permitting the adjoining villagers to acquire it in property; in fact, we see, that in the mountains of Languedoc, &c., they have conveyed earth in baskets on their backs, to form a soil where nature had denied it.'

"The experience, therefore," Mr. Mill goes on to say, "of this celebrated agriculturist and apostle of *la grande culture* may be said to be, *that the effect of small properties, cultivated by peasant proprietors, is admirable, when they are not too small; so small, namely, as not to fully occupy the time and attention of the family:* for he often complains, with great apparent reason, of the quantity of idle time, which the peasantry had on their hands, when the land was in very small portions, notwithstanding the ardour with which they toiled to improve their little patrimony, in every way which their knowledge or ingenuity could suggest. He recommends, accordingly, that a limit of subdivision should be fixed by law; and this is by no means an indefensible proposition in countries, if such there are, where the *morcellement* having already gone further, than the state of capital and the nature of the staple articles of cultivation render advisable, still continues progressive. That each peasant should have a patch of land, even in full property, if it is not sufficient to support him in comfort, is a system with all the disadvantages, and scarcely any of the benefits, of small properties; since he must either live in indigence on the produce of his land, or depend as habitually, as if he had no landed possessions, on the wages of hired labour; which besides, if all the lands surrounding him are held in a similar manner, he has little opportunity of finding. The benefits of peasant properties are conditional upon their not being too much subdivided; that is, upon their not being required to maintain too many persons in proportion to the pro-

duce, that can be raised from them by those persons. The question resolves itself, like most questions respecting the condition of the labouring classes, into one of population — Are small properties a stimulus to undue multiplication, or a check to it?".

It has been already shown, in a previous section of this chapter, and by indisputable statistics, that small properties do form one of the strongest possible checks upon the undue increase of population.

That there is no need to fear, that a repeal of the entail and settlement laws would lead to great subdivision of land, will be shown in the last section of this chapter, from the fact, that even in France, *where the law actually attempts to* FORCE *it*, the subdivision is actually *diminishing*, and the average size of the estates is progressively *increasing*.

From the authorities, facts, and statistics given in this present section, it is then clear, that independently of the vast moral benefits accruing from a system of small estates, the economical advantages arising from it are great and numerous, as it leads to a more economical use of the land; it prevents any waste of portions of it; it tends to improve its tillage, weeding, and cleaning; it provides better systems of farming, better rotations of crops, and more economical and scientific management of manures; and by these means it vastly increases the total produce of the land, while it stimulates in an extraordinary manner the science, industry, intelligence, virtue, prosperity, and happiness of the farmers and peasant classes of the country.

6. *The Education of the Poor, and the Division of the Land, tend greatly to improve the Character of their Houses and of their Villages.*

Every one with whom I conversed in Germany and Switzerland, concurred in assuring me, that a great and visible improvement had taken place in the condition of the houses of the poor since 1816, when the lands were divided, and when the education of the people was commenced.

The children are accustomed for so many years to the clean, well-ventilated, and comfortable school-rooms, and the young men, after leaving the schools, are so long accustomed to the clean and roomy barracks, that by the time, they have attained the age of twenty-one, when they return to their homes, they are as unable as our shopkeepers would be to live in such filthy cellars and hovels, as those in which the Irish and many of our own poor vegetate. A good roomy house becomes a positive necessity to them, just as a comfortable parlour is a necessary luxury to an English shopkeeper. Until a peasant of these countries can afford a comfortable house and a plot of land, he defers his marriage, in the majority of instances.

The villages of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland show the truth of these assertions. The houses of the peasantry in those parts of these countries, where the peasants are *proprietors*, are remarkably good. They are always at least two, and often three, stories high. They are very substantially built. The windows are large, and numerous, and the rooms are lofty and commodious. The villages in those parts of Prussia where the land is

divided, look like groups of houses belonging to substantial farmers. Accustomed as my eye had always been to the low-roofed, one-storied, and poorly built cottages of English labourers, I often found it really difficult to believe, that the substantial homesteads of these parts of Germany belonged to the peasants.

The peasant proprietors are very fond of frequently whitewashing, and are very particular about keeping the streets or roads near their houses clean. This conduces to give the villages a very orderly and neat appearance. The villagers do every thing for themselves, and feel interested in improvements, as their houses are their own property, and not that of a landlord.

The injuries occasioned by time's defacing hand are carefully repaired, and neighbours vie with one another in the comfort, neatness, and respectability of their homes.

In the Rhine provinces the exteriors of the houses are not always quite so prepossessing as in other parts of Germany. They are often built with wooden frameworks, filled up between the beams with a dirty-looking cement, as it is frequently very difficult to obtain brick or stone. This cement makes a very good wall; but, if unwhitewashed, looks poor. Travellers should not, however, judge the interiors of these houses from the look of their exteriors; their interiors are generally roomy, constantly whitewashed, well furnished, and beautifully clean.

In some parts of Prussia however, where the land is not subdivided, and where the peasants are only the day labourers upon the great estates of the rich land-

owners, as in some parts of the province of Posen, the condition of the peasants' cottages is very wretched. It is said by German writers, that in travelling through Prussia and other parts of Germany, a traveller can always tell, whether the peasants are proprietors, by the state of the cottages, as those of the proprietors are always so much superior to those of the mere labourers. I am convinced of the truth of this observation; the difference between the houses and general social condition of the peasant proprietors and those of the labourers on the great estate, is much too remarkable throughout the whole of western Europe to allow of any doubt as to the cause.

Mr. Banfield, in speaking of the cottages and farm-buildings of the peasants of the Prussian Rhine provinces, says* — "The size of the offices is a remarkable feature in all German farm-houses, from the cot of the peasant to the largest castle."

And again, in another part of the same work, he says† — "The houses themselves offer a contrast to the diminutive holdings of which they are the representatives. As we have already observed, they are out of all proportion large. . . . . .
In the villages the houses are usually built of wooden frames, whose beams and standards are mortised into each other and bour'l and supported by sloping stays, the mortises being fastened by pegs throughout; where that timber abounds, the wood most in use is oak; near the Rhine, fir and pine wood are used. The wood is

* Agriculture of the Rhine, p. 12. † Ibid. p. 95.

usually seven inches square, which conveniently holds a layer of bricks laid, breadthwise in each compartment. The bricks are not always burnt, and the compartments are sometimes filled up with strong wickerwork, which is plastered over. When the house is coated with lime or clay and whitewashed, the wooden frame is left conspicuous all over, and is often painted in fanciful colours.

"The value of the building is indicated by the thickness of the timber shown to be employed in this framework. Formerly, while timber was abundant and cheap, this style of building was recommended by economy; now stone (which is almost always to be had) and bricks are less expensive, excepting to the owners of forests.

"The house usually contains (on the ground floor) one or two sleeping-rooms, besides a sitting-room and kitchen; sometimes the same number of rooms is found in an upper story." There is almost always a second, and often a third, story in the village houses in Germany. "The roof is invariably lofty, and serves the purpose of storehouse and barn. In its spacious cavity the threshed corn, the hay, and often the vegetable store for winter use, are kept. The housewife dries her clothes in winter on the crossbeams. A cellar is invariably found in better houses; *and, in general, when a stranger is told that these are the abodes of people little above the station, of cottiers, he finds them splendid;* when he hears that these cottiers are the landowners and masters of the soil, he scarcely knows how to estimate their position."

In Saxony the houses in the villages were so large, that I constantly inquired of my conductor where the poor of the villages resided. He said that several families often joined in taking or buying one good house, and in sharing the rooms between them. The houses of the peasant proprietors of Saxony are quite as good, and often better, than those of many of our farmers.

They generally belong to the inhabitants, who feel a pride in keeping them in good repair, and interested in doing so, from having experienced, that it is cheaper to do so than to repair seldom and at long intervals.

The peasants of these countries, and, indeed, of most Continental countries, do not live as ours do, scattered over the face of the country, but always collected in large villages. A traveller will seldom find isolated houses. The villages are, therefore, generally much larger than ours; because they contain all the people who, in England, would live in cottages scattered along the road-sides or in the fields.

A German professor, who knows England very well, once remarked to me, that it would be a much more difficult matter for us to educate all the children of our poor than for foreign countries to do so, because so many of our poor live apart from the village where the school would naturally be placed; whilst abroad, as I have said, the people generally live close around the village school, and are, consequently, able to send their youngest children there in almost all weathers.

The majority of the German and Swiss villages and towns have scarcely any cellar dwellings, or back alleys

and streets, like the foul and degraded haunts of the lowest classes of our town poor. The majority of the German and Swiss poor are too civilised to live in such places. The towns of these countries, in the much better character of their suburbs and back streets, and in the almost total freedom from any class of children in any respect comparable to those, which swarm in the gutters and on the door-sills of our back streets and alleys, form a strange contrast to most of the towns of England; and a still stranger and more affecting contrast to the pauperism-haunted towns of Ireland.

Dr. Bruggeman, the Romanist counsellor of the Educational Bureau of Berlin, who had visited London, said to me, "*Your countrymen are unconscious of the extent of their town pauperism, and will be quite unable to believe you if you tell them the difference between the state of the English and of the Prussian poor.*" And so it is. I am unable to convey a clear idea; but I advise my readers to spend a few hours in any of our back streets and alleys, those nurseries of vice and feeders of the gaols; and to assure himself, that children of the same class as those he will see in haunts — dirty, rude, boisterous, playing in the mud with uncombed hair, filthy and torn garments, and skin that looks as if it had not been washed for months — are always, throughout Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, and a great part of France, either in school or in the school play-ground, clean, well-dressed, polite and civil in their manners, and healthy, intelligent, and happy in their appearance. It is this difference in the early life of the poor of the towns of these countries,

which explains the astonishing improvement which has taken place in the state of the back streets and alleys of many of their towns. The majority of their town poor are growing up with tastes which render them unfit to endure such degradation as the filth and misery of our town pauperism.*

In many parts of Switzerland, as in the cantons of Berne, Zurick, Vaud, Schaffhouse, and others, as also in Saxony, the houses of the small peasant-farmers are pictures of rural prosperity and happiness. In Switzerland the houses are generally built, more or less, in the old quaint style known by us as Swiss cottages, with the great wooden eaves, the high-pitched roofs, the open galleries outside, running round and forming an exterior passage from room to room, the quaint balustrades, the carved timbers, and the painted sentences or figures covering the walls or ornamenting the entrance. Great settles stand outside the door, on which the family sit in the fine evenings when the field-work is over, and on Sunday afternoons. The perfect neatness of every thing connected with many of these houses is very curious. The family mansion, which has, perhaps, been in the hands of the same family for some time, is preserved in the most careful state of repair, and with the fondest veneration. The wooden palings enclosing the yards, the little gardens round the house, and the yards and offices themselves, look as if the

* The horrible condition of the juvenile population, of the back courts and alleys, and of the lodging-houses of our English towns, will be proved in the second chapter of this work, by references and statistics of the highest possible authority.

family spent every spare minute in keeping them in order.

But even supposing it were true, which it most certainly is not, that the peasants were worse fed, worse clothed, and worse lodged in countries, where the land is so divided as to enable them to acquire a part of it, than in a country like ours, where it is in the hands of a few proprietors, still, even under such circumstances, it would be easy to prove, that the condition of the peasant proprietors of the one country was a much happier, a much more moral, and a much more satisfactory one considered on grounds of national expedience, than the condition of the dependent and helpless labourers of the other.

The consciousness, that they have their fate in their own hands; that their station in life depends upon their own exertions; that they can rise in the world, if they will only be patient and laborious enough; that they can gain an independent position by industry and economy; that they are not cut off by an insurmountable barrier from the next step in the social scale; that it is possible to purchase a house and farm of their own; and that the more industrious and prudent they are, the better will be the position of their families; gives the labourers of those countries, where the land is not tied up in the hands of a few, an elasticity of feeling, a hopefulness, an energy, a pleasure in economy and labour, a distaste for expenditure upon gross sensual enjoyments,—which would only diminish the gradually increasing store,—and an independence of character, which the dependent and helpless labourers of the

other country can never experience. In short, the life of a peasant in those countries, where the land is not kept from subdividing by the laws, is one of the highest moral education. His unfettered position stimulates him to better his condition, to economise, to be industrious, to husband his powers, to acquire moral habits, to use foresight, to gain knowledge about agriculture, and to give his children a good education, so that they may improve the patrimony and social position he will bequeath to them.

I repeat, then, that even if it were true, that peasant proprietors were worse lodged, clothed, and fed than dependent day labourers, still there would be much to say in favour of a system, which makes the peasants free, which enables the shopkeepers and peasants to acquire land, and which, by so doing, holds out a strong inducement to all the poor classes of the nation to practise self-denial, industry, and economy.

But it is not true that peasant proprietors are worse lodged, clothed, and fed than peasant labourers. Most certainly the peasant proprietors of Prussia, Saxony, and Switzerland, are better lodged, better clothed, and better fed than our labourers. Statistical writers tell us that a less quantity of animal food is consumed per head in foreign countries than in England. Even if this be true, it is easily accounted for by the great quantity consumed by our middle classes, and by the difference of climates and of national tastes. Our peasants scarcely ever eat any animal food, but our middle classes eat much more than the middle classes of foreign countries. With our cold humid atmosphere

we require a more nourishing diet than they do. In many parts of those countries, and at certain parts of their seasons, it would be very injurious for the inhabitants to eat as much animal food as we do. But, however this may be, even if the peasant proprietors do not get a sufficiency of animal food, it is a very small self-denial in comparison with the immense benefits which they all feel they are deriving from *free trade* in land.

The accounts published in foreign countries fully bear out my descriptions of the houses of the peasant proprietors. Herr Meyer von Knonau, describing the peasants' houses in the Canton of Zürick, says * — "Almost all the houses are two, few three, but still fewer only one, story in height. On the ground floor, looking towards the south, may be almost universally found the family room, two bedrooms, and the kitchen. The first story is divided into bedrooms. There is seldom any second story. Under the high-peaked roof, however, there are generally two small lofts above the upper story, where the corn and seeds, &c. are laid up.

"The rooms are generally from seven to nine feet high, are roomy and light, and are guarded against the lightning of summer by lightning-conductors, and against the cold of winter by double windows or shutters.

"There are always tables in the family rooms, and the adjoining chambers also are furnished with tables; and the floors of all the rooms are boarded; under the

* Gemälde der Schweitz, Zürick.

broad and far overhanging eaves of the houses, the wood required for the household fuel is piled up. . . . Each family room has a large stove put up in one of the walls of the room, so that it may warm both the family room itself, and also one of the adjoining bedrooms, which is devoted to the use of the husband and wife and of the young children. In many of the family rooms there is a sort of oven, warmed from the stove, and used for drying linen and for baking fruit and other edibles. There are generally from three to four windows in the room, all of them side by side. Benches are placed under the windows, and before the benches stands the old-fashioned solid table. There is also a cupboard full of polished bowls and cups, of milk-cans, crockery of all kinds, books, towels, and brushes; and upon the cupboard, or in one corner of it, is the large folio family Bible. Over the stove, or the door of the room, hangs the militia musket. On the walls hang the bread-knife, the number of the year, a slate for the family accounts, a calendar, a looking-glass, a cover for soup, a small pair of scales, sentences learned at the time of confirmation, keepsakes and remembrances of deceased relatives and friends, the baptismal certificate of the children, and Scriptural, political, and still oftener illuminated, pictures of all kinds, generally framed and glazed.

"In a case on one side stands a carefully preserved clock. Near the stove are the table and benches where the grandfather, grandmother, uncles, and aged friends of the family generally sit. Fastened by a small chain to a leg of the bench which stands under the win-

dows, or hanging on a nail by itself, is the shoehorn; near it stands the saucer for the cats. On one side is a stool, the cradle, and a chest which can be also used as a seat. Under the stove (the bottom of which is generally at least a foot above the floor), are placed the boots and shoes; near the window the spinning-wheel, or the straw-platting apparatus used by the girls, and near the stove that used by the mother and grandmother. The kitchen, which generally contains a sink, where all the washing is done, is beautifully neat and clean. The older children and the servants sleep in the chambers of the upper floor, two in a bed; upon the same floor are the clothes chests, and often the fruit and lumber stores, the meal, bran, and salt-boxes, bundles of yarn, dried sausages, hams, and flitches of bacon. The generally deep cellars contain in very different proportions beer, fruits, &c. In the cow-sheds and stables reign great order and cleanliness."

The average number of inhabitants in each house in the canton of Zürick is about nine persons; in some parts of the canton it is only seven, and in some only six persons. In the canton of Argovie, the average is eight persons in each house.

Herr Bronner, librarian of the canton of Aargau, describes the houses of the peasant farmers, as follows*: —

"In the villages, the plan of the building of a good peasant house is generally much the same. Under one roof of tiles, or of straw, the following different build-

* Gemälde der Schweitz, Aargau.

ings are united: — 1. The dwelling-house of the family. 2. The threshing-floor. 3. The cow-shed. 4. The barn. The waggon-shed and pig-sty are detached from the building. In general, the roof of the house projects some distance over the walls, in order that the overhanging eaves may afford covering for the farming implements, the plough, &c., and for the store of wood for the fuel. This makes the upper chambers very dark; but they are accustomed to this, and think that it is fully compensated by the extra warmth and by the shelter afforded by these overhanging eaves."

"Connected with these houses there is generally a garden full of flowers and vegetables; a well arranged dung heap; and, in many cases, a constantly running fountain with a basin of clear water before it, where the cattle can drink."

"Near the house door there is a bench, generally placed against the wall, where the friends and neighbours of the family sit and rest themselves after the day's work is over, and talk over their concerns."

Speaking of the same houses, he says:—"Stone steps ornament the entrance. The bright roomy dwelling-room on the ground floor, with the warm stove, with convenient tables and benches by the walls, with the cupboard full of crockery, &c., and with the clock; the kitchen next to this room, and the bedrooms, show a no small degree of comfort and prosperity. Such houses are not certainly the most numerous in the villages, but neat stone-houses of less size are generally common enough. Even the straw-thatched houses, with their

overhanging roofs, have their own peculiar advantages. They are cheaper than the stone houses, and yet very warm. . . . They are not, perhaps, so clean as the others; but are generally, where the housewife is active, very well taken care of."

Herr Bronner says, that many of the houses of the day labourers, who do not possess farms of their own, are much poorer than the houses of peasant farmers. Among the mountains, too, the houses are much meaner and much less commodious than the houses of the valleys and plains; but all the accounts agree in stating, that since the people were freed from the old feudal burdens and restrictions, and since they have been receiving a good education, the houses have been everywhere, and even in the mountain villages, rapidly and steadily improving in size, in appearance, and in comforts.

Herr Strohmeier, after describing the old wooden, straw covered, and badly built houses, which used some years ago to be built in the canton of Solothurn, says * — "These straw-covered houses lessen in number, or are improved, year by year; houses are no longer built of wood alone and covered with straw. As the intelligence of the people becomes more and more enlightened, and education is enlightening it, so also do the dwellings of the people become more and more comfortable, commodious, and handsome. Light or dark, well ventilated or close houses have the greatest influence for good or ill upon the character of a people. At the present time, the houses of the peasants are not built

* Gemälde der Schweitz, vol. x. p. 79.

together so closely as formerly, but are situated in healthy and open situations. Great proud buildings of a really stately appearance may be constantly met with in all the villages, and even among the mountains. The building there consists generally of two floors. Adjoining it are two roomy barn-floors, two stalls for cattle, and one or two sheds for carts. Before the dwelling-house there is always a very neat flower-garden. Such dwelling-houses prove the prosperous condition of the free Swiss proprietors."

Of course, in all the cantons there are still houses of a miserable character; but all the reports agree in representing these to be exceptions, and to be diminishing constantly in numbers.

In the canton of Thurgovie, Herr Pupikofer says *—

"Generally speaking, every family dwells in its own house; very few live in rented houses. It is very seldom that several families are obliged to share the same family room and kitchen.

"The old style of houses is progressively giving place to better-built, more comfortable, and more roomy dwellings. Even in the end of the last century, it had become common to cover the roofs of the houses with tiles, and to build the walls of wood and composition, or of stone.

"The floor of the ground-floor rooms, used as the family room and kitchen, is now often raised some few feet above the ground, in order to leave a greater space for the cellars beneath, where the stores are kept, and to make the ground-floor rooms dryer and healthier."

* Gemälde der Schweitz. vol. xvii. pp. 62. 63.

Professor Vulliemin, in describing the houses of the peasants in the canton of Vaud, says * — "Everywhere throughout the canton well-built and roomy peasants' houses are rising; and this is the surest proof of the *growing prosperity* of the peasants."

He says, that the dwelling-houses have cellars, a ground floor, and a second story where the sleeping-rooms are. The ground floor, he says, contains the dwelling-room of the family, a kitchen, and a children's bedroom. Over these rooms, which are of good size, are the sleeping-rooms of the rest of the family.

Herr Im-Thurm describes the peasants' houses of the canton of Schaffhouse as large buildings, containing, under one roof, dwelling-house, cow-shed, and barn. The dwelling-house, he says, is generally two, and sometimes three, stories high, with cellars beneath the ground floor. The ground floor generally consists of a dwelling-room, a kitchen, and a small room for the parents. The upper floor is divided into bedrooms for the children and farm assistants. "Few houses," he says, "have three, or even two, families, as inmates, and in still fewer do two families live together in the same dwelling-room."

Herr von Knonau, in his description of the canton of Schweitz, says †—"Four hundred years ago Gessler's anger was excited by Stauffacher's beautiful house. A few years back, jealousy would have been excited in the same way among the inhabitants of a village, if any one had built a beautiful and ornamented house; they

* Gemälde der Schweitz, vol. i. p. 303.

† Ibid., vol. v. p. 106.

would have thought it too fine. In the canton of Schweitz many such houses have now long existed. There are no houses which are built of stone, and very few which are built altogether of brick. The walls of the ground floor, however, are generally constructed of these materials; while those of the upper floors are formed of wooden frames, filled up with brick and plaster. There are very few slate roofs in the canton (in the whole canton there is only one cow-shed which is covered with slates). The houses are roofed with tiles, throughout the canton. The old wooden roofs are becoming more rare every day.

"The house rests generally upon a wall, which rises about six feet above the ground," and forms the cellar where the potatoes are kept. "It is customary to build the houses higher than formerly; so that houses *of four, and of even more than four, stories in height are no longer uncommon.* Sometimes the peasant proprietors cover the wooden beams of which the walls of the house are formed, upon the west and north sides of the house, with small pannels of oak, in order more effectually to protect the beams from rain and snow."

These houses, Herr von Knonau informs us, have a kitchen, a good-sized dwelling or sitting-room, and a small chamber on the ground floor, and three or four bedrooms on the second floor. Under the ground-floor rooms are cellars, where the potatoes are stored. The bedrooms of the upper story are united by an open and ornamental balcony, which runs round the

outside of the house, covered above by the overhanging eaves, and communicating with the bedrooms.

Mr. Jellinger Symons, now one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of schools, says*—"The cantons of St. Gall and Appenzel, which are, perhaps, among the first of the German manufacturing cantons, present the most enchanting picture of the happiness of the artizans. . . . The canton of Appenzel presents the *maximum* of prosperity and contentment among the peasantry of Switzerland. I had a favourable opportunity of examining them, whilst visiting my venerable friend M. Zellweger, to whose eminent philanthropy the canton chiefly owes its superior welfare, and to whom Switzerland is indebted for many of those well appreciated principles of political economy and social government, which have created the prosperity which signalises her among the nations of Europe. I visited many of the cottages of the artizans of Appenzel with M. Zellweger and was invariably *delighted* by the high degree of ease and peacefulness they exhibited.

"I confidently believe that it would require 30*s.* per week in England, in the neighbourhood of any country town, to put a man, his wife, and three children (two of whom shall be above fifteen years of age) in the same condition as, and in all physical respects on a footing with, the average of Swiss artizan peasants, having the same family."

Mr. Chambers himself says—"Switzerland in every quarter presents a spectacle of humble independence

* Quoted by Mr. Chambers in his "Tour in Switzerland," p. 86.

and happiness, which is exceedingly pleasing to contemplate. . . . Switzerland is unquestionably the paradise of the working-man. . . . Both Bowring and Symons are in rapture with the cottage system of the Swiss artizans; I own it is most attractive, and, as I have said, is doubtless productive of much happiness."

Mr. Symons says, again*— "The Swiss labourer is, as I have stated, almost universally the proprietor, or the son of a proprietor of land, and few householders are there in the whole canton (Argovie), who do not keep a pig, and generally a few sheep. Their cottages are strewed over the hills and dales, and exhibit in the interior every degree of comfort and ease.

Herr Müggе, writing of the social condition of the people of the canton of Vaud, says †—"The distinctions of rank have been more completely abolished in this canton than in any other; but the influence of the nobles has not been extinguished without great sacrifices, for Vaud did not, like France, abolish all privileges at a blow. All feudal rights, duties, tithes, and so forth, were purchased from the proprietors, and cost the canton a sum of three millions of dollars; and this could not, of course, have been done had its affairs not been in a prosperous condition; but the freedom of movement thus acquired has been in its turn a cause of greatly increased prosperity. When we consider the brief period, scarcely half a century, in which it has been in

* Chambers's "Tour in Switzerland," p. 86.

† Switzerland in 1847, by Theodore Müggе; translated by Mrs. Percy Sinnett.

the enjoyment of independence, and that previous to that the Bernese and the Dukes of Savoy had ruled it through satraps, who oppressed and exhausted the country in the most shameful manner, *the progress it has already made is really astonishing.*

"Wooden houses are already giving place to handsome buildings of freestone and marble; the value of the soil is extraordinarily high; no canton has more numerous herds of cows, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs; large quantities of wine are grown, the finest liquors are manufactured; and the excellent cheese of the Vaud forms, as is well known, an article of considerable trade."

Sismondi, in speaking of the Swiss peasants and their houses, says *: —

"It is Switzerland particularly that must be gone over, that must be studied, to judge of the happiness of peasant proprietors. Switzerland has only to be known to convince us that agriculture, practised by those who enjoy the fruits of it, suffices to procure great comfort to a very numerous population, great independence of character—the fruit of an independent situation,—and great exchange of what is consumed—the consequence of the well-being of all the inhabitants,— even in a country where the climate is rude, the soil moderately fertile, and where late frosts and uncertain seasons often destroy the hopes of the labourer. Whether we pass through the cheerful Emmenthal, or bury ourselves in the most distant valleys of the canton of Berne"

* See his "Etudes sur l'Economie Politique."

(*even in the heart of the mountains, for I have visited the most secluded valleys, and know that even there these remarks generally apply*), "we cannot see without admiration, without being affected, those wooden houses of the least peasant, so vast, so well-closed, so well constructed, so covered with carvings. In the interior every detached chamber of the numerous family opens into large corridors; each room has only one bed, and is abundantly provided with curtains and with coverings of the whitest linen; furniture carefully kept surrounds it; the closets are full of linen; the dairy is large, well-ventilated, and exquisitely neat; under the same roof are found provisions of corn, of salt-meat, of cheese, and of wood; in the stables are seen the most beautiful and best managed cattle in Europe; the garden is planted with flowers; the men, as well as the women, are warmly and properly clad; and the latter preserve with pride their ancient costume, and bear in their countenances the marks of vigour and of health. . . . Let other nations boast of their opulence, Switzerland may always with pride place its peasantry in opposition to it."

Mr. Laing, says*:—"The peculiar feature in the condition of the Swiss population—the great charm of Switzerland, next to its natural scenery — is the air of well-being, the neatness, the sense of property imprinted on the people, their dwellings, their plots of land. They have a kind of Robinson Crusoe industry about their houses and little properties; they are perpetually building, repairing, altering, or improving something about their

* Notes of a Traveller, p. 354.

tenements. The spirit of the proprietor is not to be mistaken in all that one sees in Switzerland. Some cottages, for instance, are adorned with long texts from Scripture, painted on, or burnt into the wood in front over the door: others, especially in the Simmenthal and the Haslethal, with the pedigree of the builder and owner; these show sometimes, that the property has been held for 200 years by the same family. The modern taste of the proprietor shows itself in new windows, or in additions to the old original picturesque dwelling, which, with its immense projecting roof sheltering or shading all these successive little additions, looks like a hen sitting with a brood of chickens under her wings. The little spots of land, each close no bigger than a garden, show the same daily care in the fencing, digging, weeding, and watering."

Mr. Nicholls, writing of the small proprietors of Belgium, says*: — "The small farms of from five to ten acres, which abound in many parts of Belgium, closely resemble the small holdings in Ireland; but the small Irish cultivator exists in a state of miserable privation of the common comforts and conveniences of civilised life, whilst the Belgian peasant farmer enjoys a large portion of those comforts. The houses of the small cultivators in Belgium are generally substantially built, and in good repair; they have commonly a sleeping-room in the attic, and closets for beds connected with the lower apartment, which is con-

* See his "Inquiry into the Condition of the Poor in Holland and Belgium," p. 164.

venient in size, a small cellarage for the dairy, and store for the grain, as well as an oven and an outhouse for the potatoes, with a roomy cattle-stall, piggery, and poultry-loft. The houses generally contained decent furniture; the bedding was sufficient in quantity; and although the scrupulous cleanliness of the Dutch was everywhere observable, an air of comfort and propriety pervaded the whole establishment. In the cow-houses, the cattle were supplied with straw for bedding, the dung and urine were carefully collected in the tanks; the ditches had been scoured to collect materials for manure; the dry leaves, potato-tops, &c. had been collected in moist ditches, to undergo the process of fermentation, and heaps of compost were in course of preparation. The premises were kept in neat and compact order: and a scrupulous attention to a most rigid economy was everywhere apparent. The family were decently clad; none of them were ragged or slovenly, even when their dress consisted of the coarsest materials. The men universally wore the blouse; and wooden shoes were in common use by both sexes. The diet consisted to a large extent of rye bread and milk; the dinner being usually composed of a mess of potatoes and onions, with the occasional addition of some ham or slices of bacon. The quantity of wheaten bread consumed did not appear to be considerable. *I need not point out the striking contrast of the mode of living here described with the state of the same class of persons in Ireland.*"

Reichensperger says, that, since the laws were issued in Prussia, in 1807, which, by enabling every landowner to sell his land and to effect the conveyance at

a small expense, enabled the peasants to purchase land, and thus created a large class of small proprietors, *the people in Prussia are better dressed, better fed, and better housed than they used to be;* and that this fact is the clearest proof of the excellent effects of freeing land from the trammels of the feudal regulations.

I have already mentioned the singular difference between the state of the cottages and the condition of the peasants of Saxony, and of those parts of Prussia, where they are educated proprietors of the soil; and the state of the cottages and the condition of the peasants of Bohemia and Austria, and of those parts of Prussia where the peasants are, like the poor Irish, only the under-lessees of great proprietors, who reside and spend their incomes in a distant capital. This difference is so remarkable as to strike the most casual observer. The cottages of the peasantry in Bohemia, and in other parts of the Austrian empire, and in those parts of Prussia where the land is in the hands of great proprietors the descendants of the old feudal nobility, are very like the cottages of the peasants in Ireland and many parts of England. They are one low story in height, old and wretched in appearance; grouped together in straggling, crowded, dirty villages; looking as if they belonged to proprietors, who had no spare income to spend upon the repair of cottages, or upon the improvement of estates; or as if they were under the care of agents, who were only interested in getting all they could out of the peasantry. The inhabitants of Prussia and Saxony point with pride to the different effects of the great estate and small estate systems, and to the continually

increasing comfort and happiness of the peasant proprietors. The cottages of Austria generally look like the cabins of half-civilised squatters; those of Saxony, Prussia, and Switzerland, like the homesteads of flourishing and civilized farmers.

But why this difference between the results of the two systems? Why should the houses of the underlessees of great landlords be generally so miserable, and those of tenant proprietors be generally so good and comfortable? I will endeavour to answer the question.

1. In the former case, the land has to support, not merely those who are engaged in its cultivation, but (besides these) the landlord. Now, however expedient it may be, that the landlord should have a large income, a splendid mansion, and all conceivable luxuries; yet it is quite clear, that the produce of the land, which goes to build and adorn his great house, and provide him with all his pleasures, would, were the land in the hands of small proprietors, be divided among them. It is impossible to deny, that if the *owner* of land cultivates it himself, he receives the whole of the produce; but that if he does not, all that part of the produce, which is paid to him, and is employed in enhancing his luxuries and comforts, reduces by so much the share of the produce to be divided among the actual cultivators.

In Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and France, the houses that are enlarged and ornamented by the extra produce of the land are the cottages and farms of the small proprietors. In England, the houses thus en-

larged and ornamented are the mansions of the large proprietors. Which of these arrangements conduces most to the well-being of society, is a separate question; but it is quite clear, from the experience of every country in Europe, that where a large part of the income from the land belongs to great proprietors, their houses will be magnificent, and the cottages of the peasants generally miserable; and that where the whole income from the land is distributed among the peasants themselves, their cottages will be more comfortable and commodious, and the mansions of great landowners fewer and less magnificent.

The *spare wealth* drawn from the land, after paying the expenses of cultivation, can clearly do only the same amount of work under either arrangement of society. It can pay for a certain amount of bricks, of chairs, of tables, of looking-glasses, of books, &c. If it is spent upon the walls of one great house, and upon stocking that one great house with splendid chairs, tables, mirrors, &c., and its great gardens with choice flowers and shrubs, then it can do no more. If, on the other hand, it is spent in building up the small walls of many small houses, and filling them with chairs, tables, crockery, &c., and their small gardens with pinks and roses, then it can do no more. In so far as it does one, it cannot do the other. Under the peasant proprietor system, the *whole* of this *spare wealth* is devoted to the latter purpose.

2. A second cause, why the cottages upon the estates of great proprietors are generally much less good and comfortable, than where they and a portion of the land

belong to their occupants, is, that the means at the command of the tenants on the great estates are diminished, not only by the division of the produce of the land between the tenant and the proprietor, but also by the unnaturally high cottage rents, which the great estate system causes.

For, where the land belongs to great proprietors, the cottage rents are always higher than their natural level, because the great landowners, from a fear of increasing the number of the miserable labourers (who are almost always the appendants of great estates), and of augmenting, by this means, the amount of their poor rates, generally keep the number of the cottages much below the number actually required by the population. The population also, as I have already shown, increases much faster under the great estate system than under the small estate system; so that the competition for the cottages on the great estates is rendered doubly severe,— 1. by the unnatural diminution in the number of the cottages, and, 2., by the unnatural increase in the number of the population. This competition for cottages has the effect of raising the rents considerably, as the poor peasants bid against one another, even beyond the value of the cottages, for their possession. Every increase, however, in the rent, diminishes by so much the slender means of the cottagers, and renders them by so much the less able to spend upon the improvement of their cottages; while the small proprietors, who own the houses they inhabit, who work with greater intensity, and therefore produce more than ordinary labourers, and who receive the whole amount

of their production for their own use, are both willing and able to improve.

3. The tenant cottager has but a languid motive to do anything himself to better his cottage and to make it weather-proof, roomy, and comfortable, compared with that which excites to exertion the man, who feels that his cottage is *his own;* that no one can turn him or his children out of it; that whatever he expends upon it will be so much gain to himself during his life, and to his family afterwards, and who, besides the bare calculation of profit, is animated to do all he can to improve his *own* home, by the exhilarating and personal interest he feels in the well-being of that, which belongs to himself, and which shelters, comforts, and supports his family, and those dearest to him.

4. A fourth reason why the cottages of the peasantry are not so good in countries where the land is divided among a few great proprietors is this: the great proprietor is not generally able, even if he be willing, to spend much upon the cottages of his tenantry; and even when he is able, he is interested in not spending on such an object more than is absolutely necessary. A great landlord has not, generally, so much to spare in proportion to his wealth as a smaller one. Ideas of luxury and the standard of necessary expenditure increase *at a greater ratio* than the means of satisfying those ideas. A great landlord often fancies, that he is obliged to keep up a certain appearance in the world, to live as much like his next richer neighbour as possible, and to make as great a display as possible of wealth, in order thereby to increase his influence.

Such a man (and how many such are there not?) needs all he has for the fancied requirements of his position. He does as little as possible to his estate and to the houses of his tenantry. He thinks, that if he keeps them weather-proof he does his duty, and that if he provides cottages, which are just large enough to let a family squeeze into them, it is all that can be expected from one, who is obliged to spend his last available farthing in keeping up a certain style in the world; for he often learns to imagine it a higher duty to do this, than to care for his tenants or his labourers.

If he hears of the complaints of his tenant at all, it is to be told that it is only his squeamishness; that the cottage gives his family two rooms; that his sons and daughters can very safely sleep in the same room with the parents; that the roof keeps out the rain, and that this is all a tenant has a right to expect. Besides, what is such a proprietor to do, if he listens to the whims and fancies of *all* his tenants. Supposing they were all to ask for houses and farmsteads like those of the German, Swiss, and Dutch peasants, where would the landlord's income and his luxuries be? The agent, therefore, keeps the cottage in repair; but he does nothing more; or when he is forced to build a new cottage, he builds it no larger than is absolutely necessary. In this way the peasant gets pinched at both ends. The division of the profits of the land between the landlord and the tenant, the fancy rents, and the uncertain tenure, prevent the peasant doing much for himself, while the landlord's own wants often prevent him improving for the peasant.

The consequence is, that partly owing to the above causes, and partly to the neglected education of the people, the peasants in Ireland are living and breeding like pigs, while in England and Wales the cottages of our peasantry are shamefully inferior to those of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland. I do not mean to say that this picture is universally true, but, unhappily, it is generally so.

Why is it that in England an *owner* of a house takes so much pleasure in improving it, and in keeping it in order? Is it not because he feels it is his own; because he knows that his own family will derive the benefit of all his improvements; because he feels a sort of attachment to the house, which he has either received from his ancestors, or purchased with the produce of his own labour? The improvements which an owner makes on his own house, and the money he spends upon it, he does willingly and as a work of love; but is it the same with a mere tenant of a house? Does the leasehold tenant, or the tenant from year to year, spend willingly upon improvements? Does either of these, and especially the latter, make additions to the house, or even repair anything, except what the terms of his lease oblige him to repair? Does a tenant, in the higher or middle ranks of life, act in this way? and if he does not, can it be expected that a poor peasant, who in our country is never any thing more than a tenant-at-will, or from year to year, will expend money on improving property in which he has not any certainty of tenure for more than a year at the outside?

Repeal all the laws which prevent the sale of landed

property in Ireland, and which keep the whole country in the hands of a few men, who are most of them deep in debt, and have not capital wherewith to cultivate their estates; enable the landlords in *all* cases to sell the land out and out; enable the farmers and peasants by these means to purchase, and prevent henceforward any settlement of landed property which would prevent its being sold after the death of him who settled it; and you would soon change the face of things there, as the great statesmen of Prussia, Stein and Hardenburg, by *similar means*, renovated the face of Prussia.

The Irish, who make such good colonists when they emigrate *, would, with a system of free trade in land, make equally good citizens at home. The enormous tracts of waste lands would be soon brought into cultivation, as the mountain sides of Saxony and Switzerland, as the sandy plains of Prussia, and as the low lands of Holland have been under the same invigorating system. Capital would make its appearance in Ireland from a thousand unexpected sources; a good class of yeomanry would grow up there, as in Germany, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, and France; while, as has been the case in these countries, since the subdivision of the land among the peasants, the habits, manners, dress, appearance, and industry of the people would all revive and improve under the invigorating influence of a sense of ownership, and of a consciousness in the labourer's mind that he may be prosperous and happy, if he choose to be patient, self-

* That they do, see authorities collected in Edin. Rev. for Jan. 1850.

denying, and industrious. If Stein and Hardenburg had been ministers of England, depend upon it they would have endeavoured long ago to introduce into Ireland, at least, that system which has raised the Prussian, Saxon, and Swiss peasantry from a social condition, analogous to that of the Irish poor, to one which renders them worthy of being regarded as examples for the consideration of the world.

7. *The Education of the Poor and their improved Social Condition tend to give them Habits of Neatness and Cleanliness.*

No child is allowed to take his place at the school-desks in these countries, unless he is perfectly clean and neatly dressed. Rags, uncombed hair, dirty faces or hands, or unbrushed clothes, are not allowed to be brought into the school-room. If the parents of a child are too poor to clothe it well enough for appearance at a school, the parish or town where the parents live is obliged to do so; but by one means or the other the children must appear neat and clean at the school classes.

The appearance of all the children of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland is very pleasing. As they attend the schools, and remain either in the school-room or school play-ground all the mornings and afternoons, they are kept out of the dirt all day; they get their exercise in dry and well-drained play-grounds attached to the schools, and are not allowed any time to run into the streets, except for a short time before going to bed in the evenings. In this way the children spend four-

teen or sixteen years of their lives, and before this period is over they acquire habits of cleanliness and neatness. These habits are still further strengthened in the case of the men, by their three years' drill in the army. There they wear the good and handsome clothes of a soldier, and are forced to keep their persons, clothes, and apartments perfectly clean. The tastes for respectable clothing and for cleanliness, which they thus gain, remain during their after lives. Although the Germans of the higher and middle ranks of life are not so clean and neat as the English of corresponding classes, yet the German poor are much cleaner and much neater than the English poor. Men in rags or in badly patched clothes are very seldom to be seen among the German and Swiss peasantry in those parts of the country where the land is divided. They have all of them two suits of clothes—a week-day or working suit and a Sunday suit. The week-day or working suit is made of strong, plain materials, but in the case both of men and women it is generally in good repair, and free from unseemly patches, and it is always as clean as the nature of the work will allow it to be kept. The Sunday suit of the peasants in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland rivals that of the middle classes. A stranger taken into the rooms where the village dances are held, and where the young men and young women are dressed in their best clothes, would often be unable to tell what class of people were around him. Long association with gentlemanly and intelligent teachers, the drill of the army, and the association with children of the middle and lower classes in

the same schools, are diminishing rapidly the outward difference observable in England between the middle and lower ranks of society. This is the tendency of things abroad. I do not mean to say that this result is universally attained; but it is certainly being attained in many provinces.

The children of many of the peasants, after leaving the primary schools, continue their education in the secondary schools, and even in the colleges, in most of which the German, and more especially the Swiss governments, have founded many free places, where clever and promising children of peasants, who have distinguished themselves in the primary schools, may continue their education free of all expense. The women of the lower classes of Germany have not advanced in civilisation quite so quickly as the men; but they are improving too, as women always will do where the men have improved before them. To estimate the civilisation of the generality of the peasant women of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, a stranger ought to go to the village dances and fairs: there he would see wives and daughters of the peasants so neatly dressed, so beautifully clean, with such well-arranged hair, and so polite in demeanour, when compared to many of our peasant women, that he would be agreeably surprised. He should remember that all these women have been educated in the same schools with the men, — that they can all read, write, sing, chant, cipher, knit, and sew, — that they all know the geography and history of their own country, and the Scripture narrative and doctrines, — and that they have

all been educated, until their fifteenth or sixteenth year, by learned and gentlemanly teachers, who have themselves been trained in the Normal Colleges.

The dress which the German and Swiss women wear to work in is very plain, coarse, and homely in appearance; but it is always free from rags, and is very suitable for the purpose for which it is intended. At the fairs, village merry-makings, musical promenades in the gardens and village balls, and on the Sundays, the working dress is always exchanged for another, which exhibits the taste of educated people, is often the costume of the province in which they live, and in its texture, make, and cleanliness satisfactorily proves the good taste and prosperous condition of the peasant classes.

It is very curious and interesting, at the provincial fairs, to see not only what a total absense there is of anything like the rags and filth of pauperism, but also what evidence of comfort and prosperity there is in the clean and comfortable attire of the women. Travellers ought to make a point of visiting some of the fairs upon the Rhine; it would not take them far out of their way to do so, and they would thus see one very good proof of the progress of civilisation among the German poor.

A German Doctor of Laws sat by me, a short time since, in the Crown Court at Liverpool, and saw the peasants and labourers who were put into the dock, one after another, charged with the commission of some crime. They appeared in the garb too common among our labouring classes, — with clothes dirty and patched, without regard to appearance, with bits of cloth, and

with stuff of all sorts of shapes and colours, — with the lappets of the trouser pockets hanging open, greasy and torn at the corners,—and with clothes which fitted badly, and which, from their appearance, might have belonged to several generations before the wearer's time. After he had seen a good many such specimens in the dock, he said to me, "*You never see such specimens of clothing among our German poor. Are such dresses really common among your poor?*" I could have told him, that among the most flourishing of our peasantry, he would have found many worse specimens than those he saw, and that in Ireland anything which barely covered the person was considered good enough for dress.

A singular and instructive scene may be, and no doubt has been, witnessed by all who have attended our courts of assize or of quarter sessions. I refer to the mass of labourers, who crowd the parts of these courts behind the prisoners' docks. A miscellaneous assembly may be always seen gathered there, dressed in their ordinary manner. Any one might imagine, from their appearance, that he was in a half-civilised country. The men are many of them begrimed with dirt; their faces, their necks, and the parts of their breasts which are left uncovered by their shirts, are so filthy, that the skin looks as if it had acquired the colour of the dirt which habitually covers it; their hair is uncombed, and dusty, and has that dry and light colour at the ends, which shows that it is seldom, if ever, brushed or cleaned; it is often knotted and entangled in masses from long neglect; their neck-handkerchiefs are greasy, soiled, and crumpled up into something, which looks like

an old rag picked up in the streets of a town, or in the heaps of a rag-shop; their shirts are open at the front, and soiled from dust, sweat, and long wear; their clothes are patched, without regard to appearance or to decency; their trousers are generally greasy and torn; and their whole appearance is that of men who are totally regardless of the decencies of life, and totally ignorant of the comfort and advantages of cleanliness.

What makes the spectacle all the sadder, is the reflection that filth and untidiness are always the signs and accompaniments of a low moral tone, and of coarse and depraved tastes.

During the last thirty years the dress of the peasants of Switzerland has greatly improved, not only in appearance but also in cleanliness. More than three times as much soap is imported annually, at the present day, into the canton of Vaud, as was imported thirty years ago. The peasants change their linen much more frequently than they used to do. The chests of drawers in the cottages are full of clean linen and clean table-cloths. A young peasant girl often brings with her, as part of her marriage portion, twelve dozen shirts and as many pairs of stockings.

The men and women have generally, for Sunday and holiday use, a good suit of clothes made of finer materials than those of which their week clothes are made.

The working dress of the labourers consists of a shirt and trousers of thick coarse linen, and of a woollen waistcoat and jacket. The materials of the working clothes of both men and women in Switzerland

are very coarse; but in the Protestant cantons they are very tidy, free from unseemly patches and clean.*

There is one point upon which all travellers in France, and even those who are most unfriendly to its institutions, agree, and that is, in their account of the dress of the peasants. They all tell us that the peasants are well and comfortably clothed, that their dress exhibits considerable taste and refinement, and that it is in every way very much better and very much more comfortable than that of our own labourers.

The French writers, too, all agree in saying, that the dress of the people has very much improved during the last half century, both in the character of the materials of which it is made, and in the manner of wearing it.

All the younger part of the peasants, of the countries I have mentioned, have gone through so very different a training to that which our boorish peasants enjoy, that it is not a matter of surprise, that the women and men of the peasant classes of those countries should be somewhat superior in mind, manners, and appearance, to those of our own country. An Irish or a Dorsetshire peasant would, indeed, be a *rara avis* among the younger generations of the Swiss and German peasants, though he would find plenty like himself, if he crossed over the mountains into the Bohemian plains. These observations are amply borne out by the authorities quoted in former parts of this work.

* Gemälde der Schweitz, le Canton Vaud, von Professor Vulliemin.

8. *One generally true Index of the Condition of the Poor of any Country is the Character of their Amusements.*

No people exist without some kind of amusement, or some means of relaxation or excitement. In one country they frequent ale and spirit houses; in another, shooting matches; in another, dances, fairs, and village-festivals; in another, they amuse themselves with gardening; and in another, with healthy pastimes, such as cricket, foot-ball, and other games. The more hard-worked and degraded a peasantry is, the more degraded will invariably be their amusements,—the more invariably will they frequent the drinking booths, and the less able and willing will they be, to indulge in those healthier and more civilised pleasures, which require more leisure time, or a higher degree of civilisation, for their enjoyment.

In England, it may be said that the poor have now no relaxation, but the alehouse or the gin palace. It is a sad thing to say of a people; but, alas! it is too true. The good old country games of the times of our forefathers are forgotten. The class of yeomanry or small proprietors which used to keep them up have disappeared. The cricket matches, wrestling matches, running matches, shooting matches, and dances, which formed some of the healthy sports of our peasantry in former times, are now, as far as the peasantry are concerned, abandoned and forgotten; and the commons and greens, where they were once held, have been nearly all enclosed. Nor is this because our peasants have ex-

changed their healthy country pastimes for any of a more civilised character. They do not generally amuse themselves with gardening, for they have seldom any gardens. They do not practise music together, as they have no opportunities of learning it, and they are too poor to make it worth the while of good bands to travel among the villages, as is the case in Germany. It may, therefore, be said that, as a general rule, our peasants have no other amusement or relaxation than that unhealthy and demoralising one — the tavern. There they acquire intemperate habits; there they spend a great part of the earnings of their families; there they excite one another to rick-burnings, to poaching, and to low debauchery; and there the younger men learn all kinds of immorality from the older and more hardened frequenters.

The crowds of low pot-houses in our manufacturing districts is a sad and singular spectacle. They are to be found in every street and alley of the towns, and in almost every lane and turning of the more rural villages of those districts, if any of those villages can be called rural.

The magistrates and judges, who administer law in those parts of our island, unanimously affirm, that almost all the crime committed there originates in these taverns.

The habit of drunkenness pervades the masses of the operatives to an extent never before known in our country.

The spare hours of the Sunday, and of many of the week days, are spent in these *pleasure* houses. Chartism,

Socialism, and all the political theories of an unenlightened people are fostered and stimulated in these places. The political clubs are held there. The political demagogues harangue there. The public morality is destroyed there. The operatives, generally speaking, have no other relaxation or amusement than tavern frequenting, and they are often too much demoralised to desire any other.

In a great number of these taverns and pot-houses of the manufacturing districts, prostitutes are kept for the express purpose of enticing the operatives to frequent them, thus rendering them doubly immoral and pernicious. I have been assured in Lancashire, on the best authority, that in one of the manufacturing towns, and that, too, about third rate in point of size and population, there are *sixty* taverns, where prostitutes are kept by the tavern landlords, in order to entice customers into them. Their demoralising influence upon the population *cannot be exaggerated;* and yet these are almost the only resorts, which the operatives have, when seeking amusement or relaxation.

In those taverns, where prostitutes are not actually kept for the purpose of enticing customers, they are always to be found in the evenings, at the time the workmen go there to drink. In London and in Lancashire the gin palaces are the regular rendezvous for the abandoned of both sexes, and the places where the lowest grade of women-of-the-town resort to find customers. It is quite clear that young men, who once begin to meet their friends at these places, cannot long

escape the moral degradation of these hot-houses of vice.

The singular and remarkable difference between the respective condition of the peasants and operatives of Germany and Switzerland, and those of England and Ireland, in this respect, is alone sufficient to prove the singular difference between their respective social condition.

The village inn in Germany is quite a different kind of place to the village inn in England. It is intended and used less for mere drinking, than as a place for meeting and conversation; it is, so to speak, the villagers' club.

Mr. Banfield, in describing the village inns of Germany, says*, — "The central point of meeting in every village is some favourite inn. At nightfall the men of any standing usually resort to it as a lounge. They meet there the officials of the magistracy, if there be any; the tax gatherer; those who, having no establishments, are boarders with the host; and those who seek the spot to exchange opinions with their neighbours. In the early part of the evening, *the pastor may be seen amongst them*, and his presence indicates, that propriety is not supposed to be violated by such meetings, as long as order is maintained. Whoever is sufficiently master of the language to follow the peculiar tone of the conversation, which is anything but wordy, if he can endure the tobacco fumes, will carry away with him, from a few sittings, the idea of a people ma-

* Agriculture on the Rhine, p. 87.

naging their own little interests with full consciousness, with an attention to economy that is most praiseworthy, *and with a regard to propriety that must call for admiration.*"

The amusements of the peasants and operatives in the greater part of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, where they are well educated, and where they are generally proprietors of farms or gardens, are of a much higher and of a much more healthy character, than those of the most prosperous of similar classes in England. Indeed it may be safely affirmed, that the amusements of the poor in Germany are of a higher character than the amusements of the lower part of the middle classes in England. This may at first seem a rather bold assertion; but it will not be thought so, when I have shown what their amusements are.

The gardens, which belong to the town labourers and small shopkeepers afford their proprietors the healthiest possible kind of recreation after the labours of the day. But, independently of this, the mere amusements of the poor of these countries prove the civilisation, the comfort, and the prosperity of their social state.

In the first place, then, every child learns, from the age of six to the age of fifteen, to sing, to chant, to read music, and to dance. During the whole time they are at school, *i. e.* from their sixth to their fifteenth or sixteenth year, every child practises singing and chanting daily; hence has arisen that general or national taste for music, which we in England imagine a German to bring into the world with him. It is however nothing more, than the result of the musical

instruction given to all the people in the primary schools. If a boy or girl in Germany has a fine voice or a good ear, or a remarkable taste for music, it is immediately discovered in the school classes; it is exercised and trained at an early age; and is carefully cultivated during the whole period of school-attendance. This is the reason, and the only reason, why Germany has produced so many great singers, composers, and musicians. Of the universality of the knowledge of music in that country, it is difficult for Englishmen to form any adequate idea. In every village and town, all the young men and women below the age of forty can sing and chant, while many of the inhabitants can play on some musical instrument; and in most small towns and large villages, there is at least one good band which practises every week, and performs at all the village festivals and dances. These bands are not like those we now and then find in our small provincial towns, untutored, harsh, without expression, and without harmony; but they are bands which are formed to please the ear of people who understand music, and who can discriminate between good and imperfect performances.

I have heard many of them at the village festivals of Germany, and can safely affirm that they would not disgrace any ball-room of London by their playing; indeed many of our military bands could not surpass them in execution.

This universal knowledge of, and cultivated taste for, music has given the peasants of Germany many innocent means of amusement in the long winter evenings, and

has put within their reach, pleasures of the most civilising and of the most gratifying kind. It has improved the public services in the churches and chapels, and has given the peasants a greater interest in them, and additional motives for attending them. The singing and chanting in the churches and chapels of Germany, is more beautiful than any, which can be heard in any other country. The whole congregation joins in this part of the service, and joins, too, as if it felt interested in it. The body of sound, which is produced and managed by a German congregation, is as remarkable as it is delightful and exhilarating. It is more like what one hears from Mr. Hullah's assembled classes, at his great performances in Exeter Hall, than anything else I can remember. The effect is quite magical, to stand among the people upon the floor of a large church in Germany, and to hear the swell of the great volume of sound, poured forth by hundreds of men, women, and children, all singing together, without leaders, and in perfect unison. People, educated as these are, are not able to find pleasure in such coarse gratifications, as those which satisfy the frequenters of our gin-palaces.

There are, perhaps, no peasantry in the world, who have so much healthy recreation and amusement as the peasants of Germany, and especially as those of Prussia and Saxony. In the suburbs of all the towns of Prussia and Saxony, regular garden concerts and promenades are given. An admittance fee of from one penny to sixpence, admits any one to these amusements. In the suburbs of the larger towns, there is in summer one of these garden-concerts almost every evening. I will

describe one of them, as they form one of the principal amusements of the inhabitants of German towns.

In the neighbourhood of a German town, there are always a number of houses, surrounded by large gardens planted with shady trees, and intended as refreshment and pleasure-houses. They are buildings of two lofty stories; the upper one is a large saloon, intended for indoor concerts in bad weather, and for balls; the ground-floor is in part occupied, as a house for the pleasure-house keeper, and in part used, as a suite of refreshment-rooms, where coffee, tea, beer, wine, and cakes are sold; while outside in the open air, hundreds of small tables and chairs are arranged under the trees and alcoves of the gardens.

When the owner of one of these pleasure-houses intends to give a concert, he gives notice by posting placards in the neighbouring towns and villages. He then hires a first-rate band, arranges all his tables and chairs outside his pleasure-house, if it is fine weather, or in the great saloon up-stairs, if it is wet or cold, lays in a store of beer, wine, and coffee, and then awaits his company.

There are, of course, cheap pleasure-houses and dear ones; but the dearest, even in Berlin, do not charge more than sixpence for the entry ticket, while the cheapest charge only a penny. Owing to the low price of the entrance tickets, of even the most fashionable pleasure-gardens, the assemblies of people are composed of all classes of society.

The band sits on a raised kind of stage in the middle of the garden, while around it in every direction, as far as the music can be distinctly heard, sit

thousands of people of all ranks and conditions, listening to the performance of the most splendid compositions of the great masters of Germany. Nobles and peasants, officers and privates, merchants and shopkeepers, old and young, rich and poor, sit there mixed up together, with their wives and daughters, smoking their cigars, drinking their coffee or beer, and listening to the music. In the intervals, they stroll up and down in the shelter of the trees, rich and poor enjoying themselves together. In these pleasure-gardens of Germany there is very little excess. The people do not meet to drink, but to hear the music, and to see and talk to one another. The rich do not feel disgusted to sit at a table next to one occupied by a poor man's family, because the poor man is too well bred, too well mannered, and too neatly dressed, to cause the rich man or his family any annoyance. Whilst the band plays, the most perfect silence is preserved by the crowds assembled, except when it is broken by a murmur of approbation at the finer passages, showing always how genuine is the pleasure, and how good the taste and appreciation of the multitudes present.

These "pleasure-gardens," as the Germans call them, are to be found in every village. In the neighbourhood of the large towns there are always very large ones, so situated, in the prettiest villages and spots around, as to command the finest views. Each of them is distinguished and known by some particular name, as the "Brühl Garden," "Kroll's Garden," &c. Every month a great garden-concert is given, and for a week beforehand, placards headed with the name of the garden in

which the fête is to be held, are posted in all the towns and villages within six or seven miles. These are the great *concerts*; but bands play in these gardens one or two evenings in almost every week during the spring, summer, and autumn. At the larger gardens, and on ordinary days, the people can enter without paying entrance fee required on the great occasions, and are only expected to spend two-pence in a cup of coffee, or in a glass of beer.

I went constantly to these garden-concerts. I rejoiced to see, that it was possible for the richest and the poorest of the people to find a common meeting ground, that the poor did not live for labour only, and that the schools had taught the poor to find pleasure in such improving and civilising pleasures. I saw daily proofs at these meetings of the excellent effects of the social system of Germany. I learned there how high a civilisation the poorer classes of a nation are capable of attaining, under a well-arranged system of those laws, which affect the social condition of a people. I found proofs at these meetings of the truth of that, which I am anxious to teach my countrymen, that the poorer classes of Germany are much less pauperised, much more civilised, and much happier than our own peasantry.

Can an Englishman imagine the inhabitants of the filthy cellars, alleys, and courts of our towns, or the peasants of our villages, sitting in Kensington or any other gardens, mixed up with the gentry of our metropolis and with the officers of our army? The idea seems to us preposterous, — so low, so poor, and so uncivilised are our poor; and yet assemblies of the same

classes of society may be seen by any traveller in Germany almost every summer evening.

In most of the towns of Germany and Switzerland public promenades have been made and planted with avenues of trees, under which the citizens stroll or sit on the summer evenings, chatting, listening to the bands, which play on the promenade, reading and talking over the newspapers, drinking coffee or beer at some of the many refreshment-rooms always erected near, and enjoying life and the society of their fellows. These resorts are by no means used exclusively by the wealthier classes, as almost all amusements are in England, but mingled up with the richer classes on week-days; and especially on Sunday evenings may be always seen crowds of the lower classes, with their wives and children, enjoying themselves at least as much as any of their richer neighbours.

Can it be contended that such an association as this can possibly exist, without exercising a great humanising and civilising influence over the less educated and poorer classes of society?

Besides the garden concerts, of which I have spoken, there is another kind of fête, which is in Germany peculiarly a people's festival, and which shows very clearly the difference between the social condition of the German and the English poor.

I refer to the village merry-makings. We have no word in English which would describe them. They are not at all like the wakes of former days, or the fairs of modern times. In the harvest time, these German fêtes are called *Kirmess.*

Each of the villages of Germany, through the summer and autumn months, gives several of these merry-makings. The times of holding them are arranged, so that those of villages lying near to one another do not occur at the same time; so that the peasants of one village may attend the merry-makings of their neighbours.

When the time of holding this village fête is decided, full particulars of it are placarded in the villages and towns which are within walking distance.

The pleasure-houses of the village are put in order, the gardens trimmed, and the cellars replenished. Two or three long tents are then erected, each large enough to contain 1000 persons; an orchestra is raised in each; the floors are carefully boarded with well-smoothed planks, made so as to be easily laid down when wanted, and always kept and used for the same purpose; and small tables, with seats round them, are set all down the long sides of the tents, for the fathers and mothers of the young people who come to dance.

The entrance ticket to one of these tents generally costs one penny; that to another, perhaps two-pence; and that to the third, never more than sixpence. A first-rate band is hired for each tent; a bar for refreshments, consisting of beer, Rhine wines, coffee, bread and butter, and cakes, is raised in each tent, at the end opposite to the orchestra; plentiful supplies of refreshments are laid in; and outside, over all, are hoisted the German and provincial colours.

When there are three pleasure-houses in the village, the tents are dispensed with, and all the needful

preparations are made in the great saloons of these buildings.

Outside the tents, in the streets of the village, stalls are erected, where cakes, gingerbread, and various other edibles are sold; while near them swings, turnabouts, wooden horses, targets, and other amusements for the young are prepared. Tables and chairs are set out in the gardens for the visitors; and waiters are hired for the day to attend to the quiet frequenters of the gardens, and to serve them with beer, coffee, or wine, as they may desire.

In the afternoon of the appointed day, the people from the neighbouring villages begin to arrive. On the various roads leading to the village fête, may be seen old people with their children, young men and women dressed in their best attire, students in their coloured caps and surtouts, each with his pipe hanging from his mouth, and his round bag of tobacco suspended from his button-hole; young women, with their glossy hair dressed smoothly on their well-shaped heads, without bonnets or caps, but in very becoming and well-made dresses, and with neat little shawls thrown over their shoulders; musicians, with their books and instruments; soldiers and officers, merchants and shop-keepers, all wending their way to the scene of amusement. Arrived at the village, the relations of the young people take their children to the dancing-rooms or tents, pay their entrance fees, enter and take their seats at the tables placed along the sides of the tents. Those who have not brought their families with them, generally betake themselves to the gardens, and enjoy there the mingled

pleasures of the scene, the music, and the refreshments.

As soon as the music has begun in the tents, the young men lead out their partners to the dance. In Germany, a young man at a ball needs no special introduction. He may walk up to any of the tables, bow to the father and mother, and ask permission to dance with their daughter. He does not, as in England, walk about with his partner after the dance; but as soon as it is over, he leads her back again to her relations, bows to them again, and seeks another.

When the weather is fine and warm, the fathers and mothers sit at tables in the gardens with their children, and the young men, who wish to dance with their daughters, come out of the ball-room and seek their partners in the gardens, bringing them back to their parents as soon as the dance is over.

The dancing itself, even in those tents frequented by the poorest peasants, is quite as good, and is conducted with quite as much decorum, as that of the first ball-rooms of London. The polka, the waltz, and several dances, not known in England, are danced by the German peasants with great elegance. They dance quicker than we do, and from the training in music which they all receive from their childhood, and for many years of their lives, the poorest peasants dance in much better time than English people generally do.

There are few, if any, excesses ever committed at these fêtes. So decorously is everything conducted, that the merchants and professional men of Germany take their little daughters of six, eight, and fourteen

years of age to these amusements, sitting with them in the tents, watching over them while dancing, but not hesitating for a moment to trust them among the crowd, in order to enjoy this recreation, so innocent if properly conducted.

I went to many of these fêtes during my travels in Germany. The last time I was at one of them, was in 1848, at a village a few miles distant from Cologne. I went there with an English gentleman. There were three or four large tents, each capable of containing at least a thousand people. We went into each of them in succession. At the entrance of the cheapest we paid two-pence or three-pence for our ticket. The young people of the poorest class were dancing there. The orchestra was excellent. The people present were, in dress and manners, quite equal to those of our small shopkeepers' class. The dances were conducted with the utmost zest and decorum. The parents of the young women were sitting at small tables round the tent, sipping their coffee and beer, and smoking their pipes and cigars. The whole scene was one of innocent pleasure and healthful exercise.

We afterwards went into the more expensive tents, where the richer classes were assembled. We joined a German merchant and his family. He was surrounded by three young daughters and two boys. Whilst we sat talking with him, the young men and boys who were present came by turns, and after bowing to the old gentleman requested permission to dance with his daughters. The permission was always granted. As soon as the dance was concluded, the girls were brought back to

the table at which we were all sitting. The old gentleman never seemed to dream of his young daughters running any risk, by mingling with the crowd, which was enjoying itself before us. His only cause of regret seemed to be, that he could not himself join the young men in their festivities.'

I have been several times with different English friends to these village fêtes, in different parts of Germany, when there was not another stranger besides ourselves present, and in villages, too, where Englishmen had most probably never been seen in the dancing-rooms before. No rude stare greeted our entry, though we were at once observed, and though we were evidently objects of curiosity to all who were assembled.

No uncourteous smile was to be seen on any countenance. The young peasants came up, and addressed us with ease, showed by their manners that they were glad to have us among them, and answered our questions with an eagerness to please us, which proved how civilised they were.

The politeness which the poorest of the German and Swiss show to strangers is one of the strongest proofs of their great civilisation. I, myself, have experienced it a hundred times upon my travels; and here it is called to my remembrance, by what I have already mentioned, the conduct of the poor when a stranger visits them in their festivities. I have seen Englishmen attend the village festivals of the poorest peasants in Highland caps, and in costumes, which would in themselves have been quite sufficient to render them the objects of remark and observation, and which, in an

assembly of English poor, would have certainly rendered them the butts of a hundred rude jokes; and yet no person present even stared in an uncivil manner, still less was any remark made; but they were treated just as they would be treated in the higher circles of English society, where the great maxim is, to do nothing which would offend the feelings of any person present.

In the German and Swiss towns, there are no places to be compared to those sources of the demoralisation of our town poor—the gin palaces. There is very little drunkenness in either towns or villages, while the absence of the gin palaces removes from the young, the strong causes of degradation and corruption, which exist at the doors of the English homes, affording scenes and temptations which cannot but inflict upon our labouring classes moral injury which they would not otherwise suffer.

When we have educated our labourers as the labourers of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and France are being educated, and when we have annulled all that part of our present legislation, which prevents an industrious peasant improving his social position by present self-denial and exertion, and which takes from him all motive for exercising either, our peasants, and the Irish peasants, will soon regain their natural independence; will find healthy amusements and pleasures for themselves; will cease to be a burden upon the unions, and will stand in need of public assistance just as little as our middle classes.

Full confirmation of the truth of what I have said, respecting the amusements of the German peasants, may be found in Mr. Howitt's "Domestic Life in Germany," in the same writer's "German Experiences," in Murray's "Handbook of Germany," and in many other publications.

In Switzerland and the Tyrol, one great amusement of the peasants, besides their gardens and their village fêtes, is rifle practice. The Austrian and Swiss Governments give every possible encouragement to this pastime; as by it they prepare the peasants, at a small expense, for the defence of their mountain homes, in case of invasion. Rifle-shooting matches are instituted by the governments in different provinces. Prizes are offered to the best marksman. The target, which is fired at, is presented to the successful competitor, and is taken home by him, and proudly nailed outside his house, to tell all passers, that the owner is one of the best shots in the country.

In the Tyrol I have seen three and four of these targets affixed to the walls of a single house. The preparation for the great shooting matches occupies much of the leisure time of the young peasants of these countries. They meet for practice one or two evenings in every week. The precision of aim which they acquire is very remarkable. If either of these countries should again be invaded, it will be seen what terribly effective corps their rifle militia form, as means of defence among the mountains and forests. If they continue to encourage these exercises, as they have been

doing of late years, it will render many parts of these countries almost impregnable to a foreign invader.

But the greatest of all advantages, which the peasants of Germany, Switzerland, France, and Holland, enjoy, in the way of amusement, is their being able, on holidays and Sundays, to walk through the fields in every direction. The land is scarcely ever enclosed. The plots belonging to the small and greater farmers lie side by side, without any other separation than a path, or a furrow to mark out the boundaries. There are no hedges, no park walls, no palings, and very few enclosed pieces of lands. Along the walks, which are made on the lands to the different farms and plots, any one may ramble, without any chance of interruption, as long as he does not tread upon the cultivated ground. In the neighbourhood of towns, the land is scarcely any more enclosed, except in the case of the small gardens, which surround the houses, than in the more rural districts. Yet this right is seldom abused. The condition of the lands near a German, or Swiss, or Dutch town, is as orderly, as neat, and as undisturbed by trespassers, as in the most secluded and most strictly preserved of our rural districts. All the poor have friends or relations, who are themselves proprietors. Every man, however poor, feels that he himself may, some day or other, become a proprietor. All are, consequently, immediately interested in the preservation of property, and in watching over the rights and interests of their neighbours.

This freedom from enclosures, and this ability to

walk anywhere, are of incalculable advantage to all the poor, and more especially to those who live in the towns, and in the manufacturing districts. They are thus enabled to enjoy, at least on Sundays, country walks, good air, and healthy recreation. They are never confined in their rambles to dusty roads or lanes, but may walk through the richly cultivated fields.

In our manufacturing districts, and in the neighbourhood of our large towns, the results of a different system of landed tenures may be seen. Where the boys of the towns can get into the fields, there devastation follows. Hedges are destroyed, the herbage is killed, and cultivation is trampled down. The land, in the neighbourhood of most of the Lancashire towns, wears a singular aspect of untidiness, trespass, and devastation. If a path crosses a field, the passengers, instead of religiously avoiding the grass on each side, as they do in Germany and Switzerland, where the peasants own the lands, is marked by three or four parallel tracts, which seem to have been made out of mere wantonness; so that I have seen cases in Lancashire, where proprietors have found it better worth their while to build, at great expense, two long parallel walls, confining the path between them, than to leave it to passers to please themselves, whether they keep to the path, or wander over the fields, destroying the herbage.

Where the people can get in, the hedges are broken through and through, the trees are stripped for sticks, and the ditches are trodden in, by lads practising jumping over them; and, what is worse, every fruit-tree,

which is not strictly guarded, is soon cleared of its fruit.

All this makes the owners of land in Lancashire, and near our larger towns, necessarily and naturally anxious to keep the operatives and lads out of their lands. Enclosures of the strongest kind are therefore becoming more and more numerous, and the rural walks are being gradually stopped or spoiled by walls; so that while population is becoming denser and denser, the labourers are being shut into the high roads and lanes more and more, and the public paths through the fields are being themselves enclosed, from the absolute necessity of protecting the land from the depredations of those, who feel no interest whatever in its being kept in good condition.

One proof, among many others, that a system like that of Germany, Switzerland, France, and Holland, would in England produce, in this respect, a result similar to that produced in those countries, may be derived from the fact, that where there are any allotments, even merely *rented* by the poor, in the neighbourhood of a manufacturing town, however near to the town they lie, and however exposed and uninclosed they may be, they are quite safe, and are undisturbed, showing that the people have a great respect in general for the property which belongs to any of themselves. Instances of this kind may be seen in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, Preston, and some other towns in England.

9. *The excellent Education given to the Poor of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, the great Subdivision of the Land, and the Amusements of the People, tend very materially to improve the Health and social Comfort of the Poorer Classes in the Towns.*

I have already said, that in the German and Swiss towns there is scarcely any degradation like that to be seen in the English towns. The poor are too civilised, and too well off, to be able or willing to live in such cellars, or in such foul courts and alleys as those which are haunted by myriads of poor creatures in the towns of England. The poor of the German, Swiss, and Dutch towns are better clothed and lodged, better fed, and much cleaner than the majority of our peasants and town labourers. All this of itself conduces very materially to the health of the poor populations of their towns. The character, cheapness, and excellence of the evening amusement tempt them out into the gardens and public promenades, to be found at no great distance from the centre of every German town, much oftener than our poor are tempted into country air and to healthy amusements. It were much to be wished that our Government would build places in all the parts of our great metropolis, where bands might play every summer evening. Good bands would soon find it worth their while to play there, especially, if the owners were allowed a small piece of ground, just around where the band would stand, where they might let chairs at two-pence or three-pence each, as in Germany, and where they might provide coffee, tea, or

beer, for any one who wished to sit there. It would often tempt many of the poor, who now scarcely ever see the green lawns of our parks, from their close alleys, and from their gin palaces on the summer evenings, and would afford them a rational and civilising amusement.

The government provides bands of music for the amusement of the rich in London; but these bands play at an hour, when the poorer classes are at work, and cannot attend. The rich can afford to provide such amusements for themselves, but the poor cannot. Why should not the idle bands of our regiments be made to play for two or three hours every evening in the neighbourhood of the towns, where the regiments are quartered, so that the poor might be tempted out into fresh air to listen to the music. The regimental bands might make such hours in summer, their hours of practice, and they would thus secure two ends,—their own improvement and the healthy amusement of the poor, who would thus be able to enjoy a very great gratification at no expense.

But that which more than anything else promotes the comfort and health of the small shopkeepers, operatives, and labourers of the provincial towns of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland is the possession of gardens outside the towns. It is impossible to exaggerate the vast importance of this possession to inhabitants, and especially to the poorer workmen of the towns. The provincial towns of these countries, as I have already said, are surrounded by gardens, which *belong* to the labourers and small shopkeepers of the

towns. Here they grow vegetables, fruits, and herbs for the use of their families, and flowers for the adorning of their houses.

In the evenings, after the day's work is over, and when our poor would be resorting to their only amusement, — the alehouse, — the labourers and small shopkeepers of the German, French, Swiss, and Dutch provincial towns turn out into their gardens to dig, or sow, or weed, or water.

Father, mother, and children may be often seen there together, assisting in the cultivation of the garden, which is to afford many a savoury and good dish for their table, and to add to their comforts and luxuries during the remainder of the year.

The extraordinary neatness and beautiful cultivation of these gardens show, how their owners prize them, and how they enjoy their evenings' labour. If they rented these gardens, they would not care one half so much about them; but it is the feeling, that they are THEIR OWN, that they have a share in the land of their country, that no one can deprive them of it, that all they expend upon it will increase their own comforts and not the rents of another, and that if they die, their children will enjoy the benefit of their expenditure; it is this feeling, I say, which begets in them, that attachment to their little plot, which urges them to improve it to the most of their power. It is a beautiful sight, on a summer evening, to see these gardens, in the neighbourhood of the provincial towns of these countries, full of the families to which they belong. One feels that the people who have such pleasures as

these are much more secure than others, from the peculiar temptations, and much less injured by the peculiar occupations and pursuits of town labourers.

The parents and children get out, in the summer evenings, from their counters, their desks, their labours, and their schools into fresh air; they enjoy some vigorous exercise, they return with a healthy appetite; and, whilst they have been gaining all this good, they have also added something to the comforts and luxuries of their families.

Any one who has examined the condition of the allotments in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, or of Preston, or some other of the manufacturing towns of Lancashire, will know, how much the operatives prize, even the *uncertain* possession of these gardens, which they hold without any lease, and liable to be turned out at half an hour's notice.

The number of such allotments is, however, very small, and the character of the holding is miserably uncertain for the tenant. Still these are better than nothing.

A poor labourer of one of the Lancashire towns said to me only a few months since, "Ah, sir, if we could only get allotments, it would do us all a great deal of good. It would keep a good many of us from the alehouses in the evenings; it would give us a healthy occupation when we came out of the mills; and it would enable us to support our families in greater comfort; but you see, sir, that land is so monopolised, that we poor people have no chance of getting hold of any." And yet Mr. Porter informs us, that there are nearly 11,000,000 acres in the United Kingdom, which

are capable of cultivation, and which are still wholly uncultivated by any one.

Reichensperger, who lives in the neighbourhood of towns, where the German operatives possess gardens of their own, in which they and their families labour in the evenings in the cultivation of vegetables for the use of their households, says * — "The advantages of this system, *if it be only in improving the health of the operatives, are very great, and worth a great sacrifice.* But these are by no means the only good results of this system. The social and economical results cannot be rated too highly. The interchange of garden-labour with manufacturing employments, which is advantageous to the operative who works in his own house, is a real luxury and necessity for the factory operative, whose occupations are almost always necessarily prejudicial to health. After his day's labour in the factories, he experiences a physical re-invigoration from moderate labour in the open air, and moreover, he derives from it some economical advantages. He is enabled by this means to cultivate at least part of the vegetables, which his family require for their consumption, instead of having to purchase them in the market, at a considerable outlay. He can sometimes, also, keep a cow, which supplies his family with milk, and provides a healthy occupation for his wife and children when they leave the factory. . . . . .

. . . . . "The freedom of the land from intricate settlements, and from all restrictions pre-

* Die Agrarfrage, p. 332.

venting its sale, by enabling the operatives to purchase or to increase the size of their gardens, is productive of this further excellent result, — that it offers him the means of attaining, through economy and industry, a certain social independence, and saves him from a state of hopelessness, — that exhaustless source of countless vices and sufferings. . . . . Several great manufacturers, particularly the firm of Jung, in the neighbourhood of Elberfeld, have furthered this system in the most exemplary manner, whilst the generosity, with which they have provided their workmen with plots of land, deserves public and honourable mention."

The daily attendance at school, the cleanliness and the neatness of dress, which all the children are obliged by law to observe, and the cleanly and healthy exercises provided for the children in the school play-grounds, keep them entirely from the filthy, immoral, and unhealthy pursuits of the tens of thousands of poor children, who live in the streets and alleys of our towns, and improve incalculably the physical condition of the young. From morning to night all the children of every town of Germany, Switzerland, the Austrian empire, Holland, and Denmark are taken care of, watched, kept clean, and kept out of mischief from eight o'clock every morning until five every afternoon. Clean dry play-grounds are attached to every school. One of the teachers always superintends the exercises and pastimes of the children in these play-grounds. The parents are fined if the children do not attend some school or other regularly, and the children are not

admitted to the morning and afternoon roll call, if they are not perfectly clean and neat.

These regulations make the parents anxious to keep the children out of the streets, and from filthy sports, when they are away from school; and, after a few months' attendance at the schools, the children themselves learn that cleanliness adds to comfort and happiness. The habits which are thus acquired at school are never afterwards shaken off; but tend to improve the *health* of the children very much; and afterwards to improve the physical condition of the *men* and *women*.

The appearance of the poorer inhabitants of the German, Swiss, and Dutch towns—and especially of those of them, who have grown up under the social and political system, which I have attempted to describe—is singularly different to the appearance of the lower classes of our town labourers. Not only are they, as I have before said, more intelligent-looking, better dressed, much cleaner, and more gentle, but they are also much healthier-looking than our town poor. A traveller in these countries seldom sees the marked votaries of the gin palaces; the yellow and jaundiced feeders on bad food; the dirty, offensive, and careworn cellar inhabitants; the pale, thin, high cheek-boned, and careworn-looking mechanics, which one meets at every turn in our streets. The labourers in the German towns are cleaner, better clothed, fatter, and altogether much more comfortable-looking, than those of our towns. They are not so large, so muscular, or so powerfully made as our people; they are not by nature

so active a race as we are; their climate is not so favourable to vigorous exertion as ours is; but they look healthier, happier, and less careworn.

They drink much less spirits, and weaker beer, than our labourers. If they do not eat so many pounds of meat in a year,—a fact I much doubt,—they still live much better than our peasants, and even than the majority of our town labourers, excepting it be the operatives of Lancashire. They always have plenty of coffee, milk, butter, bread, potatoes, greens, soups, and puddings.

The poor women of Germany understand very well how to cook savoury soups and dishes, and the art of making a little meat go a long way. English travellers have often been in the habit of laughing at their brown bread, because it is sour; but the truth is, this bread is eaten in Germany both by rich and poor, and is generally preferred, because it is thought more savoury than the white. The Germans are fond of many sour dishes which would not suit our tastes. The brown bread is very wholesome and nourishing food, and is to be found in the best hotels, and on the tables of the richest people. In many parts of Germany, travellers cannot get white bread at all.

The Germans and Swiss, both rich and poor, rise very early. The peasants generally get a cup of coffee and a piece of bread before they go out to their work. Between eight and nine, they return to breakfast, which generally consists of coffee, milk, brown bread and butter, with a little cheese or sausage.

In Holland, the cheese is always brought on to the

breakfast tables even of the richer classes, the only difference being, that three or four different kinds of cheeses are sometimes put upon the breakfast table of the rich man, while the peasant contents himself with less variety.

Between twelve and one, the labourers return to dinner. In some of the mountain cantons of Switzerland they dine before twelve. The dinners consist of soup, vegetables, bread and butter, sausages, puddings, salad, beer, cheese, and, now and then, of a little meat, cooked alone, and not in soup.

At about five, they take a little coffee, milk and bread; and, at about nine, a supper of soup, vegetables, sausages, bread, butter, and beer. This is the general diet throughout Germany and Switzerland. The housewives vary it, by cooking the vegetables and meats in many different ways. Sometimes the potatoes are boiled in their skins; sometimes cut into slices, and baked with butter, pepper, and salt; sometimes cut into slices and boiled with other herbs, and afterwards dressed with butter and other adjuncts. In like manner, the soups are varied in every possible manner. The puddings, although plain, are excellent, and very nourishing. The cooked meats are not nearly so good as in England, as they are generally boiled some time to make soup, before they are baked for the table. Roast meat is hardly ever prepared. There are no fires in Germany or Switzerland like ours. The cooking is all performed by baking in ovens, or by boiling in kettles, hung over little fires of wood made on the top of stone tables.

The German, Swiss, and French peasants enjoy a

much greater variety of food and better cooked meals than the peasants of England. Simple as their meals are, they are both wholesome and savoury.

At the village festivals, the feast of the peasant families is generally a bottle of Rhine wine, or a quart of their bitter beer, or some coffee, with a great lump of currant bread. This bread is very sweet and excellent.

It is made expressly for the village autumn fêtes, and is called kermess bread. My repast at a fête was always either wine or coffee, and bread; and the poorest families ate the same food.

The total absence of intemperance and drunkenness at these, and indeed at all other fêtes in Germany, is very singular. I never saw a drunken man either in Prussia or Saxony, and I was assured by every one that such a sight was rare. I believe the temperance of the poor to be owing to the civilising effects of their education in the schools and in the army; to the saving and careful habits, which the possibility of purchasing land, and the longing to purchase it, nourish in their minds, and to their having higher and more pleasureable amusements than the alehouse and hard drinking.

The small farms and gardens add a good many little luxuries to their meals. Butter, cheese, and eggs are articles of general consumption. Fruit for puddings, herbs for seasoning, salad and vegetables are procured from the gardens or the farms, to add a relish to the cottage meals.

All these seemingly trifling little adjuncts, do more to increase the average of daily happiness in the cot-

tage, than the inhabitant of the palace can imagine. A prince may need his champagne and claret, his pine-apples and his venison, to supply a relish to his appetite; but a poor man makes a feast by the addition of a few eggs, a little fruit, a little meat, or some savoury herbs.

Counsellor Reichensperger, in his learned work "Die Agrarfrage," says *: — "In general there can be no doubt that, in those countries where the land is subdivided, and where the subdivision is not extremely small, the people are *well fed*, well clothed, highly civilised, both physically and mentally, and comfortably housed; that under the influence of the small proprietor system, the whole subdivided land exhibits, in every part, the proof of industry and of praiseworthy improvement; and that, by the happy change of different kinds of cultivation, by rich orchards and by products and manufactures of all kinds, it exhibits the significant proof of evenly divided and real prosperity."

The remarkable increase in the quantities of bread and meat consumed per head by the people of Prussia, since the division of the land, is one proof among others of the improvement in their social condition.

It appears † that the increase in the consumption of grain per head of the population, in seven large towns of Prussia, between 1831 and 1841, was as follows: —

* Die Agrarfrage, p. 43.

† See a very interesting paper published by Mr. Banfield, in the eleventh volume of the "Journal of the Statistical Society," and founded upon the reports of my friend, the Prussian Minister of Statistics.

	1831.			1841.		
	Wheaten Bread.	Rye Bread.	Total.	Wheaten Bread.	Rye Bread.	Total.
	lbs. oz.	lbs. oz.	lbs. oz.	lbs. oz.	lbs. oz.	lbs. oz.
Berlin - -	84 7	180 7	268 14	107 2	175 10	282 12
Breslau -	52 10	256 6	309 0	150 12⅓	227 14⅓	378 11
Kœnigsberg	61 14	213 3	274 15	60 8⅓	215 6⅓	275 15
Danzig -	45 5	220 12	265 15	52 14	232 1⅓	284 15⅓
Stettin -	101 2	249 0	350 14	106 14	312 14	419 12
Halberstadt	65 9½	286 2	351 11⅓	84 11	315 8	400 3
Brandenburg	86 10½	216 7	303 1½	92 11⅓	266 6	359 1⅓

The consumption of corn in *all* the Prussian towns increased, between 1805 and 1831, 10lbs. 12 oz. rye per head, with a diminution of only 1 lb. 10 oz. per head in wheat, and a very considerable increase per head in the consumption of potatoes!

There are, however, some towns in Prussia, as Magdeburg and Potsdam, where the consumption of bread per head since 1831 has somewhat lessened. But the consumption of all the great towns taken together, shows a considerable progress since 1831, both in the *quantity* and in the *quality* of the food eaten by the people. This increase in the great towns is represented to have been as follows: —

YEARS.	Consumption of lbs. per Head.		
	Wheaten Bread.	Rye Bread.	Total.
	lbs. oz.	lbs. oz.	lbs. oz.
1831	65 5½	240 12½	306 2
1841	78 14½	237 13½	316 12
Increase per head of the consumption of Bread from 1831 to 1841 - - -			10 10

But what is still more remarkable, is, that since the division of the land among the peasants, the quantity of *meat* consumed per head, by the population of the *whole* kingdom, has also greatly increased, notwithstanding the increase in the numbers of the population.

In 1805 the average quantity of meat consumed, by each person in Prussia, was - - - - - -	$33\frac{52}{100}$ lbs.
In 1831 ditto ditto - - - -	$34\frac{74}{100}$ lbs.
In 1842 ditto ditto - - - -	$35\frac{14}{100}$ lbs.
Increase per head of the consumption of meat, from 1805 to 1842, - - - - - - - - -	$1\frac{32}{100}$ lbs.

While in the following towns the increase, in the average quantity of meat eaten by each individual, had increased still more remarkably: —

	1805.		1831.		1842.	
	lbs.	oz.	lbs.	oz.	lbs.	oz.
Berlin - - - -	83	6	104	8½	116	13
Breslau - - -	94	1	76	12	95	2
Danzig - - -	72	31	75	9½	83	3½
Magdeburg - - -	63	25	82	8	92	9½
Potsdam - - -	62	22	84	0	101	12½
Stettin - - -	88	9	72	0	104	13½
Erfurt - - - -	65	23	71	11½	75	13½
Halberstadt - - -	51	1	62	13	71	15½
Brandenburg - -	56	2	51	3	78	14
Neisse - - -	59	26	63	11	62	14½

When it is considered how very greatly the population of Prussia has increased since 1804, viz., from 10,000,000 in 1804, to 15,000,000 in 1841, it will be evident to all, that this increase, in the quantity of good wholesome food eaten by the people, is an undeniable proof of the good effects of their social system, and

proves incontestably that the social condition of the people is progressively improving.

A further proof of the improved social condition of the people of Prussia, since the subdivision of the land, is the increase, which has taken place since that event, in the general consumption of the whole country. The following table, taken from the able work * of the Minister of Statistics in Berlin, shows what the amount of this improvement in the social condition has been.

Food and Materials.	1805. Quantity consumed per Head.	1842. Quantity consumed per Head.
Bushels of Wheat, Corn, &c.	4	4
Pounds of Flesh - - -	33	35
— Rice - - -	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{11}{18}$
— Sugar - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
— Coffee - -	$\frac{2}{3}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
— Salt - - -	17	17
— Tobacco - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{10}$
Ells of Cloth - - -	$\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$
— Linen - - -	4	5
— Woollen Stuffs -	$\frac{3}{4}$	13
— Silks - - -	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{8}$

The Prussian people, therefore, eat more bread, meat, rice, and sugar, as much wheat and corn, drink more coffee, and wear more cloth, linen, woollen stuffs, and silks, than they did, before the peasants were enabled to purchase lands.

The Prussian Minister of Statistics, after giving these remarkable statistics says †: — "The principal object of

* Der Volkswohlstand im Preuss. Staate. pp. 28. 218. and 250.

† Ibid., seite 251.

agriculture is to obtain bread and meat. As our Prussian agriculture raises so much more meat and bread on the same extent of territory, than it used to do, it follows, that agriculture must have been greatly increased both in science and industry. There are other facts which confirm the truth of this conclusion. The division of estates has, since 1831, proceeded more and more throughout the country. There are now many more small independent proprietors than formerly. Yet, however many complaints of pauperism are heard among the dependent labourers, WE NEVER HEAR IT COMPLAINED, THAT PAUPERISM IS INCREASING AMONG THE PEASANT PROPRIETORS. Nor do we hear, that the estates of the peasants in the eastern provinces are becoming too small, *or that the system of freedom of disposition leads to too great a division of the father's land among the children.* Complaints such as these are heard in a few exceptional cases from the western provinces of the kingdom, where there was freedom of disposition before 1806. They are not, therefore, the necessary consequences of the law, which regulates the rights of the possessors of land. Throughout the kingdom, wherever the small proprietor has become the *unfettered* owner, there agriculture has been delivered from all the fetters which used to impede its improvement. The owner is well acquainted with his small estate. *It is an almost universally acknowledged fact, that the gross produce of the land, in grain, potatoes, and cattle, is increased, when the land is cultivated by those who own small portions of it;* and, if this had not been the case, it would have been impossible to raise as much of the necessary articles of food, as has

been wanted for the increasing population. Even on the larger estates, the improvement in the system of agriculture is too manifest to admit of any doubt. . . . . Industry, and capital, and labour, are expended upon the soil. It is rendered productive by means of manuring and careful tillage. The amount of the produce is increased. . . . . The prices of the estates, on account of their increased productiveness, have increased. The great commons, many acres of which used to lie wholly uncultivated are disappearing, and are being turned into meadows and fields. The cultivation of potatoes has increased very considerably. Greater plots of lands are now devoted to the cultivation of potatoes than ever used to be. . . . . The old system of the three-field-system of agriculture, according to which one third of the field used to be left always fallow, in order to recruit the land, is now scarcely ever to be met with. . . . . With respect to the cattle, the farmers now labour to improve the breed. Sheep breeding is rationally and scientifically pursued on the great estates. . . . . A remarkable activity in agricultural pursuits has been raised; and, as all attempts to improve agriculture are encouraged and assisted by the present government, agricultural colleges are founded, agricultural associations of scientific farmers meet in all provinces, to suggest improvements, to aid in carrying out experiments; and even the peasant proprietors form such associations among themselves, and establish model farms and institutions for themselves."

The accounts of Switzerland agree with the above remarkable extract, and agree in stating that of late years the food of the people has considerably improved.

Herr Pupikofer says *, that, in the canton of Thurgovie, the *food of the people has considerably improved of late years,* — that coffee and potatoes have taken the place of the groat-gruel, which used to be eaten at breakfast; that the dinner formerly consisted, generally, of soup, dried meat, flour-cakes, and fruit; but that now fresh meat is often eaten in the stead of the flour-cakes, that potatoes are exchanged for fruit, that bread is always eaten at dinner, and that this bread is generally made of wheaten flour and potatoes.

Herr Im-Thurm says †, that in the canton of Schaffhouse the breakfast consists of coffee, together with milk and bread or potatoes. In some parts of the canton, a soup made of milk and meal or groats is eaten for breakfast. Dinner is eaten in this and in many of the more mountainous cantons at eleven o'clock; it consists of soup made of milk, meal, bread, or groats, and also frequently of a meat soup. Beef, ham, and bacon are often eaten by the peasants of this canton.

Between three and four in the afternoon, the men have some bread and wine, the women some coffee, milk, and bread. Tea is very seldom drunk: it is very expensive throughout Switzerland. About seven or eight o'clock in the evening, a soup made of milk and bread or potatoes is eaten; and at nine o'clock the people go to bed, so as to be ready for the break of day.

* Gemälde der Schweitz, Thurgau.

† Ibid., Schaffhousen.

"All the people of this canton drink wine at dinner, and often also at supper, and between meals beer is drunk."

Professor Vulliemin, in describing the food of the people in the canton of Vaud, in Switzerland, says*:— "Not only is it true, that there are few lands where the people live on better food than in the canton of Vaud, but it is also a *fact, that the food of the people is improving year after year.* Coarse black bread, milk, and herbs, no longer constitute the food of the people; but white wheaten bread, mixed sometimes with potatoes, or with fresh or pickled meat. The breakfast (or, as it is called with us, the dinner) consists of coffee, or of a thick porridge, with cheese and whey, and often with potatoes also. At ten o'clock the peasants eat some cheese, and drink with it sometimes a glass of wine. Soup and greens, with bacon, potatoes, cheese, salad, pickled meat, and pancakes, compose the dinner. On Sundays, however, and on holidays, fresh cooked meat is eaten at dinner.

"At four o'clock, from Easter to Lent, they take coffee with bread and cheese, and sometimes a spoonful of preserved fruits. The frugal peasant among the vineyards makes his four o'clock meal of bread, cheese, and common red wine. The supper of the peasants consists of soup and cheese. All the peasants drink wine: even the poorest labourer would be discontented, if he did not get at least a quart of wine daily. Formerly, the peasants drank wine much less frequently

* Gemälde der Schweitz, xix Band. 1 Theil. s. 283.

than they do now, but they were accustomed, every eight or fourteen days, to get intoxicated; now every family keeps its cask of wine or cider for the use of the family.

"In the towns, fresh cooked meat, soup, bread, and vegetables are the food of the inhabitants, and often even of the poorest.

"Our militia receive daily, during the time of their service, 1½ lb. of bread, 8 oz. of meat, and vegetables."

It has been the habit of English writers to presume that the peasants of Western Europe eat much less meat than our peasants, and that this is one proof of their inferior social condition. The presumption is as untrue as the inference. The peasants of Western Europe do not, it is true, eat meat every day in the week, nor do they eat much meat; but in most parts of these countries they eat meat once or twice a week at least.

Our middle classes eat so much more animal food daily than the middle classes of France, Germany, and Switzerland, that the fact of the amount of meat consumed annually per head in Great Britain being greater than the amount consumed per head in the countries I have mentioned, is quite possible, without any necessity for resorting to the hypothesis, that our peasants eat even as much animal food as the peasants of Western Europe.

Even if the peasants of England, Wales, and Ireland did eat animal food oftener than they really do, it would be but a poor compensation for the loss of all the vast advantages enjoyed by the peasants throughout Western Europe, viz., the freedom of action, and the possibility of improving their condition, of acquiring a farm

and a house of their own, and of rising, by prudence, self-denial, and exertion, to a higher station in society.

But all the inquiries, which have been made in recent years, and the careful investigations made by the correspondents of the public journals, and particularly by the writers of the admirable letters on "Labour and the Poor," recently published in the "Morning Chronicle," prove, that the peasants of England seldom obtain any animal food at all.

10. *Another of the many and great Advantages arising from the cultivated Intelligence of the Peasants of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, and from the Subdivision of the Land among them, is, that all the Peasant Proprietors of these Countries are naturally, from their Position, adverse to rash and ill-considered Political Changes, and to Political Agitation, and are all rendered strongly Conservative in Character, so that the Majority of the People, instead of the Minority, are interested in the Cause of Order and public Tranquillity.*

It will be said, "But do not the events of 1848 prove the contrary?" I unhesitatingly answer, "No." The government of Louis Philippe fell, not because the country people rose against it, but because the government had so governed, as to alienate the affection of the peasant proprietors to such an extent, that they would not rise in its defence. Louis Philippe's government refused almost every peasant proprietor in France the right of voting at the elections; it refused to repeal

several taxes, which pressed with peculiar weight upon them; it had burdened and was burdening them with an ever-increasing weight of taxation; it had annually increased, and was still annually increasing, the public debt and the public expenditure; it had increased the number of placemen to such an extent, that they were much more numerous than the electors; it had broken important national alliances, and had run the risk of war for the sake of a mere family connection, in which the people felt not the slightest interest; and it had continually and unnecessarily infringed the inestimable privilege of the free expression of opinion, whether by word of mouth or by the press.

By these means, the government of Louis Philippe had completely estranged the affections of the small landed proprietors throughout France. In the hour of necessity, therefore, although the proprietors did not rise against the government, they would not rise in its defence, and consequently it fell. Even the shopkeepers of Paris refused to fight for it. One remarkable proof of the feeling of the people with regard to M. Guizot's scheme of government, is, that in the first two Assemblies returned after the erection of the Republic, he has been unable to obtain a seat, notwithstanding all the exertions of his friends, and notwithstanding all that the people have suffered from the excitement and excesses, which necessarily attended the great political change.

Since the Revolution, however, the peasant proprietors have uniformly shown themselves the friends of order. In the insurrection of June, 1848, which I witnessed myself, the peasant proprietors flocked to

Paris by thousands, and shed their blood in the support of Cavaignac, and for the sake of public tranquillity.

M. Michelet happily and forcibly represented the tranquil and firm attitude of the peasants of France, when he said, that "the whole of the country districts of France, with their millions of peasant proprietors, formed, so to speak, the *Mount Ararat of the Revolution.*"

This is the principal cause, why the late Revolution was so different to the one of 1789. *Then* there were scarcely any peasant or small proprietors. There were only lords and oppressed tenants. When the former fled, there remained no conservative body, either in the towns or rural districts, capable of defending or upholding the governments, which successively endeavoured to check those, who were interested in turmoil and bloodshed. *Now*, all the inhabitants of the rural districts, and of the smaller towns, are allied with the shopkeepers and merchants on the side of order. This renders their ultimate triumph certain, however great the changes through which the state may be obliged to pass.

Throughout all the excitement of the revolutions of 1848, the peasant proprietors of France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, were almost universally found upon the side of order, and opposed to revolutionary excesses. It was only in the provinces, where the land was divided among the nobles, and where the peasants were only serfs, as in the Polish provinces, Bohemia, Austria, and some parts of South Germany, that they showed themselves rebellious. In Prussia they sent deputation after deputation to Frederic William, to assure him of

their support; in one province the peasant proprietors elected his brother as their representative; and in others they declared, by petition after petition forwarded to the chamber, and by the results of the elections, how strongly they were opposed to the anarchical party in Berlin.

The insurrections, which broke out in Germany, broke out in the *large towns*, among the *middle classes*, and among those town poor, who owned no land, and who were not individually interested in the preservation of public order and tranquillity.

Hecker and Struve could find little or no support among the peasant proprietors of South Germany, though they went about from village to village, bribing and intimidating by turns: their adherents were inhabitants of the towns.

When we consider what enormous political changes were effected in those countries, within the short space of one year, and with how little bloodshed they were effected, when compared to that which our own great Revolution cost us; when we compare the fierce struggle through which England passed in our Great Rebellion, in obtaining even less results than they have obtained; when we reflect, that at the beginning of 1848, the Germans had no free press — could not assemble, even in private houses, to discuss political matters — had no public assemblies which deserved the name of Parliaments — and had no voice or influence in the levying of taxation, in the affairs of the nation, or even in the political regulations which affected their own domestic concerns; when we remember, that the acts and speeches of every individual were watched,

and noted down by odious systems of espionage, supported by the governments, and that every attempt to rise against this state of things was crushed in the bud, by enormous armies and bodies of police, — we shall plainly see that some strong conservative influence must have been at work, to have kept the people so long quiet, and to have prevented the transition to universal suffrage, and to all the rights of democratic states which has taken place, from plunging those countries into ungovernable licence and confusion.

But such an influence was and is at work. That influence is the conservative feeling, or rather the fear of civil discord, which the subdivision of land among the peasantry of any country will invariably produce. A revolution, like the French Revolution of 1789, in either Germany, Switzerland, or France, is now impossible.

A great town may now and then rise in insurrection, and may indulge in the excitement of riot and street warfare, but anything like a general bloody revolution is quite impossible.

What, I would ask, has induced the governments of Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and, indeed, of all the German countries, as well as those of Switzerland and Sardinia, to grant universal suffrage so willingly to their people? Simply this: — That these governments knew, that the whole of the peasants were strongly conservative, by interest and disposition; that they were the steadiest of all the supporters of public order, and of a firm government; that the people of the towns were the most democratic, and that to grant the suffrage to

them, and not to the peasants, would be to put themselves in the hands of the anarchists, and to deprive themselves of the powerful and certain support of the intelligent body of the peasant proprietors.

Urged by these views, these governments have not attempted to limit the number of the electors, by adopting a property qualification, but have admitted the *whole* people to the electoral privileges. They could not have adopted a more conservative policy, for they have, by this means, enabled the peasants to swell the members of the conservative party in the Chambers, by sending thither representatives of their own feelings and principles.

The peasant proprietors of all the provinces of those countries are all immediately interested in the preservation of public order. Everybody, except the labourers of some of the largest towns, has, or expects soon to have, something to lose by a revolution. None, but those labourers, fancy themselves interested in public disturbances; and even in the large towns, the riots of 1848 often arose, more from the excitement always attendant upon sudden political change, and from the rioting of people long unaccustomed to political liberty, than from any strong or deep-rooted discontent, or long-cherished anarchical feelings.

All the substratum of society, in most of the rural districts of these countries, is conservative. It is the minority only, who are interested in political change. The English order of things is inverted. In England it is the peasants and operatives, who fancy they have nothing to lose and much to gain by a revolution of

society. It is the majority with us, who think they are deeply interested in an upturning of society. It is the majority, who hope to gain some share of the vast territorial domains of the nobles, or at least to get some part of those great tracts of land, which they observe lying uncultivated by any one; or who, without having any specific views whatever, say, we cannot lose, for we have nothing to lose, we cannot be poorer than we are, or more wretched than we are; we may possibly gain by a change; but if not, it is clear we cannot lose.

There are vast masses, not only of our town operatives, but also of our country peasants, who, in times of commotion, reason in this manner, and are at the beck of the first demagogue who arouses their slumbering feelings.

Symptoms of this under-current of passion are now and then vouchsafed us, like the warnings of a volcano. Sometimes we have Rebecca riots; sometimes, Chartists' risings; sometimes, actual insurrections, sometimes, wide-spread incendiary fires; and in Ireland, constant rebellion.

The more intelligence spreads among the poor of our country, the more will all this increase, unless we alter the laws which tend to prevent the peasants acquiring property. The classes, who are deprived of the natural means of improving their social condition, will rise more and more fiercely against the obstacles, which beset them, the more clearly they perceive those obstacles. If it be necessary or expedient that the present landed system should be continued, it would be wiser to get rid of every school in the whole country.

To give the people intelligence, and yet to tie their hands, is more dangerous than to give fire to a madman. At present our peasants are deficient in intelligence, and therefore they are quiet.

In Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and France, all is different to the picture I have just been attempting to draw. The *peasant proprietors*, and the inhabitants of the smaller provincial towns of those countries, will never be insurrectionary, whilst the present subdivision of land continues. Every peasant feels, that his social position and well-being depend entirely and solely on his own exertions. He knows, that if he does not acquire land of his own, and if he does not better his condition, it is entirely his own fault. He knows, that no law impedes him, or diminishes the returns of his labour; that no class is favoured more than his own; that he can ask for no social change, unless it be less taxation and improved education. He feels, therefore, that change cannot benefit him socially, and that it might possibly deprive him of some of the advantages he now possesses. He is, therefore, adverse to sudden changes of all kinds. He is naturally, and from motives of self-interest, a supporter of a strong and peaceful government. He is adverse to war, because war costs money, and entails heavy taxation. The *peasants* of France have gradually, during the last thirty years, been becoming more and more pacific, solely owing to the effect of the subdivision of property.

The people of several of the greatest towns of France are still as warlike as ever. In Germany and Switzerland the same fact is observable. The war party, and

the revolutionary party, in Germany, are formed of the inhabitants of the great towns. The same may be said of Switzerland. The people of the small provincial towns, and of the rural districts, are eminently pacific and conservative in their tendencies.

I was constantly told in Germany, prior to the outbreaks of 1848, that if political changes were ever effected, they would originate with the people of the larger towns, and not with the *peasantry*. I remember, in particular, a very intelligent man at Elberfeld, in Rhenish Prussia, saying to me, "The *peasants* are so adverse to political commotion, and so interested in public tranquillity, on account of their being the owners of the land, that they will never endeavour to effect any political changes, however much they may dislike the present political thraldom. They feel, that they are well and cheaply governed, that they have no *social* advantage to gain by a change, that they have property, which might be considerably injured by public riots, and that they might themselves lose some of that freedom of labour, which they now enjoy."

This opinion has been remarkably verified by the conduct of the peasants during the political riots and struggles, which have taken place in the great towns of Germany. Nowhere have the town rioters found much countenance or support given them by the peasants. In the late barricade riots in the manufacturing district and town of Elberfeld, the peasants kept aloof; and when the rioters forsook their barricades, and attempted to make their way in a body across the Rhine Provinces, in order to join the republicans of the towns

of South Germany, the peasant proprietors armed, pursued and attacked them, took them prisoners, and delivered them all into the hands of justice. Many such instances might be quoted.

This represents the universal feeling of the German peasants in all those provinces where the land is divided. Every thing I heard upon my travels in Europe, and every thing which occurred in 1848, confirmed the truth of the opinion expressed by the gentleman of Elberfeld. I travelled with a banker of Berne, just after the invasion of Lucerne, by the people of Argovie. He assured me, that nothing was to be feared from the Swiss *peasants*. He told me that, only just before, the *peasants* of the canton of Berne had sent a deputation to the Council of State of the canton to tell them, that if the radicals of the city ventured to engage in any insurrection against government, or in any unconstitutional proceeding, they would instantly arm in the defence of public order, and would assist the executive officers with their united strength.

Such also was the opinion of the head professors of the great schools in Vevay, and such, indeed, was the opinion of almost all the gentlemen connected with the cantonal governments, with whom I conversed.

It is true, that in 1847, the peasants joined with the townspeople in the greatest part of Switzerland, in invading the small mountain cantons. But I believe they were not only warranted in taking that course, but that they were *forced* to take it.

By the old constitution of Switzerland, imposed upon them by the allies on the settlement of Europe, it was

necessary to have a majority of three-fourths of the cantons in order to effect any change in the constitution. Now it so happened, that all the populous cantons of Switzerland, nearly two-thirds of all the cantons, and more than *nine-tenths* of all the people desired to increase the executive power of the *Diet of Switzerland*, and to make it something more like a parliament. Until 1847, it was *almost entirely powerless*, the government of each canton being carried on almost independently of the other cantons, by means of a separate Council of State. Owing to this, Switzerland, as a nation, was almost incapable of action. It could not combine for any great object. It had no weight in the Councils of Europe. It was even weak in matters of mere defensive policy.

There were five or six of the small mountain cantons, who systematically voted against every national proposal made in the Diet, and who systematically opposed all revision of the Constitutional Chart. It was believed, by the majority of the Swiss, and it seems probable, that these little cantons were in the pay of Austria; and that Austria, by means of her gold, annulled all the votes of the Diet, and, by preventing Switzerland from combining for any object, kept her a weak and submissive neighbour. These obstructive cantons were the most thinly populated of all, but they had just enough votes to enable them to prevent the Diet from effecting any constitutional reform.

The people of all the other cantons, and more populous cantons, were unanimous in desiring these changes. A large party even in the small cantons

concurred in the wish, but all their peaceable efforts were unavailing. The vast majority of all the people of Switzerland were compelled to submit to the will of a very few, and those few bribed, as it was and is now generally believed, by the gold of the ancient, traditional, and inveterate enemy of Swiss freedom — Austria.

Under such circumstances the patience of any people would have broken down. That no change was effected in Switzerland so many years, was solely owing to the conservative feelings of the peasant proprietors, and to the antipathy they felt to political commotions. But at length even these feelings gave way, and the peasants joined the townspeople in remodelling the Constitutional Chart by force of arms.

I have given this hasty sketch of Swiss politics merely to explain circumstances, which have seemed to many to prove, that the Swiss are revolutionary in their habits and interests. Such a supposition is utterly unfounded. There is not a more industrious, frugal, temperate, and conservative peasantry in Europe. The profound tranquillity of Switzerland throughout the revolutionary movements of 1848 and 1849 is a strong proof of this. It should be remembered, that every man in Switzerland is a soldier; that every man has a gun or a rifle of his own hung up on the wall of his cottage sitting-room; that every man has a vote; that every one can read and write; and, more than all, that the police force is very small. If these facts are borne in mind, my readers will comprehend, that the perfect tranquillity of Switzerland during 1848 and 1849 was a

very remarkable and significant proof of the conservatism of the peasant proprietors, who form the great majority of the people.

With Austria convulsed on the one side, with Italy, France, and Germany revolutionised on the other sides, and with her own territory deluged with political adventurers and refugees, Switzerland existed in the midst of the turmoil as tranquil and as safe as a sea-bird in a storm.

Political tranquillity is established upon a much surer basis in Switzerland than in England. A rising of the peasants in Switzerland will never take place except in defence of their liberties, or in opposition to the enemies of social order and prosperity.

The peasants of Switzerland have nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by political disturbances; and *they are intelligent enough to understand this truth.*

If the system of landed tenures in Ireland could be altered, and a class of peasant proprietors be created, instead of the present miserable class of tenants-at-will, the Irish farmers and the Irish peasantry would be rendered as strongly disposed to support government, to maintain the public tranquillity, and to preserve intact the union of the two countries, as the present Irish landed proprietors are.

The results which have universally followed the abolition of the laws, which enable proprietors to keep their lands out of the market for a great number of years, which thus tend to create and preserve great estates, and which immensely increase the difficulty and consequent expenses of transferring land from man to

man, would again follow, if a similar great change were effected in the sister kingdom.

The farmers and peasants would buy land. The bogs would soon be divided, purchased, drained, and cultivated.

A great class of small yeomanry, like those who in the olden times existed in England, would rapidly spring up. A great conservative class would be thus created.

The houses and social condition of these proprietors would improve in the same ratio as their industry; and the industry of the Irishman at home would be as great, as it proverbially is on his clearings in the colonies.

Every man who spent 100*l.* in a plot of land would laugh at the demagogues. The peasant proprietors would not ask our assistance to keep them from starvation.

The Irish farmers, who now send over their savings to the English savings-banks, or hide them among the rafters of their barns in Ireland, would soon buy land. Public discontent and rebellion would gradually subside, the more the peasantry and farmers acquired a stake in the country; foreign capital would then flow into Ireland; that land which had not been bought up by the inhabitants would be purchased by new comers; manufactures would spring up; the splendid havens of the sister island would once more be crowded with the shipping of the world; and Ireland, so fertile and so admirably situated to carry on an immense trade with America, would soon become one of the most productive and prosperous islands of the sea.

This is no fanciful picture. No country has yet changed tenants-at-will for small proprietors, without being vastly benefited, and benefited, too, as I say Ireland would be.

Many countries have now tried the experiment, and in all it has signally succeeded. Before the division of land in France among the peasants, they were, according to the accounts of Arthur Young and many contemporary writers, in as bad a condition, as that of the Irish at the present day. The same may be said of the peasantry of many parts of Germany, before the great statesmen of Prussia, Stein and Hardenberg, persuaded the late King of Prussia to annul all the laws, which enabled the old proprietors to prevent their successors from selling any portion of their lands. Since those great men effected that change, the peasants of Prussia have risen from a condition analogous to that of the Irish at the present day, to the prosperous and happy one, which I have endeavoured to describe. A similar result has followed a similar change in Saxony, Baden, Bavaria, Styria, the Tyrol, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, and France; and it is but reasonable to conclude, that if a change were made in the landed tenures in Ireland, similar to that brought about in Prussia by Stein and Hardenberg, an equally happy result would follow; and I am convinced that it can be effected by no other means.

In England, too, it becomes every day more and more important to decide, how we shall endeavour to introduce conservative elements into the masses of operatives, which are so rapidly and so prodigiously

accumulating in our northern counties. In another twenty or thirty years the population of Lancashire and Yorkshire will be 10,000,000 people, of whom almost all will be operatives. Republican or revolutionary opinions are spreading, and will continue to spread among them. Are we prepared to let them spread without any check? Are we conscious of the dangers of a republican operative population of 10,000,000 people assembled on so small an area? Are we prepared to see the intelligence of those masses increase without some attempt to direct that intelligence by good schools, to impress a strong religious character upon that population, and to endeavour to render them more conservative by the liberality of our institutions? When we consider the dangers, which threaten us, from the enormous development which free trade will give to our commerce, and, consequently, to the augmentation of the masses of our operative population, it is but too clearly evident, that it behoves us to do all we can while we have yet time, in order to enlist as many as possible of our poorer classes on the side of order, and to increase as much as possible the conservative feelings of our people.

The more intelligence advances among the peasants of Germany and France, the more clearly will they perceive that they can gain nothing, and that they might lose much, by civil commotions, and therefore the more conservative will they become in their ideas and in their habits; but the more intelligence advances in our country, the more plainly will the peasants see

the misery of their situation, — the more clearly will they understand the difference between their own state and the state of the peasants abroad, — the better will they understand the working of the laws affecting the landed property in this country, — the more plainly will they perceive, that the effect of those laws is to take away from them any *chance* of improving their social condition, unless they leave their native parishes and homes, — and the more strongly will they be inclined to combine for the violent alteration of the system of the tenures of land.

Our situation is one of increasing pauperism and of growing danger, while that of Germany is one of growing strength and of increasing happiness.

11. *The Education of the People and the Division of the Land beget a Spirit of healthy and active Independence in the People.*

An Englishman can have scarcely any idea of the extent to which the subdivision of land, the cheapness of the modes of conveying it from man to man, and the intelligence of the peasants, tend to diminish pauperism and to stimulate the activity and enthusiasm of the peasants.

An English peasant is in this position at the present day : — He can earn, on the average, from seven to nine shillings per week. If he marries, of course he cannot lay by anything from such a pittance, more especially as his wife has not, in the rural districts, such opportunities of earning wages as the wives of the operatives possess.

If he were to defer his marriage for some time, he might, by great economy, save from his wages about 8*l.* a year; and if he were intelligent enough to avail himself of every advantage, he might, by spending his evenings in weaving, knitting, basket-making, or some other kind of handicraft, lay by at least 10*l.* per annum.

If I have not exaggerated the resources of an English peasant, it is clear that, between his seventeenth and his thirty-second year, (before which latter year the peasants in those parts of foreign countries, where land is much subdivided, never marry), he might lay by between 150*l.* and 200*l.*, and if he deferred his marriage still longer, he might lay by still more. To do this, however, would require great diligence, economy, prudence, and self-denial. To save in this laborious and self-denying manner is a high moral discipline. *It requires great intelligence and a strong inducement.*

That it is not impossible, is proved by the fact, that it has been done by millions of peasants throughout the countries of Western Europe.

Our peasants are not, however, nearly intelligent enough to undertake such a work, even if they had the inducement; and they have no inducement, even if they had the requisite intelligence. Supposing an English peasant were to put off his marriage until he was thirty-two, and to save in the meantime as I have described, what good would it do him? In many parts of this country, he could not even hire a farm, they have so lessened in numbers and so increased in size, and they

so often remain for generations in the hands of the same farmer's family; while in most parts of the country the peasant would not have the slightest chance of buying a plot of land.

The effect of our present laws is, to make land generally sell in large estates, and not in small portions: and even when a small farm is for sale, to render the expenses and difficulties of the conveyance so great as to deter a peasant from purchasing.

What could he do, then, with his savings? He might either emigrate and buy land with them abroad, or he might leave the rural districts, go to some town and set up as shopkeeper, in a business of which he knows nothing — in a town, for residence in which his rural life and habits have unfitted him, and with the great risk and almost certain prospect of bankruptcy staring him in the face. Even if either of these prospects were such as to offer a strong inducement to the peasant, if put before him, yet they are too remote and too much removed from his observation and from his knowledge to ever affect him strongly. But I deny that either of them is a strong inducement. They never have and never will act as such; they never have and never will stimulate his energies or his prudence. Emigration is difficult, even for an intelligent man of the middle classes, so strong are the ties and associations of home; but it is far more difficult for a peasant, whose only consolations are his relations and his old associates. A town life offers him no inducement whatsoever; nothing but sheer necessity will ever drive him there. The

English peasant knows, therefore, that prudence and saving habits can do him little, if any, practical good. He feels, that there is no chance of his rising in the world, whatever his exertions. He is opposed by a system of laws, which nullify all his efforts; he does not, therefore, make any. He marries as soon as he can, drowns his thoughts and cares in the ale-house, gets assistance from the workhouse, and is laid in the same humble church-yard with his boorish forefathers.

Such a man has no energies, no hope, no independence. He feels himself the slave of circumstances, against which it is useless to rebel. He sinks into the stupid inanity of a serf, except when his slumbering passions now and then break forth and take revenge, by means of incendiary fires or nightly depredations, on those, who are living in a sphere so different, so sadly different from his own.

No system has ever been invented so well qualified to stupify the peasant, and to destroy all his hopes and all his virtues, as the system of landed tenures, which exists in England and Ireland, and which did exist throughout Europe, before the shock of the first great revolution of France, which crumbled the old system to pieces, and set the peasants free. It deprives him of every worldly inducement to practise self-denial, prudence, and economy; it deprives him of every hope of rising in the world; it makes him totally careless about self-improvement, about the institutions of his country, and about the security of property; it undermines all his independence of character; it makes him dependent on the workhouse, or on the charity he can obtain by

begging at the hall; and it renders him the fawning follower of the all-powerful landowner.

The contrary system, as pursued in Germany, Switzerland, the Tyrol, France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, and some parts of Italy, produces a contrary result.

A peasant, who knows that it is possible, by present self-denial and exertion, to acquire a small farm of his own, and who perceives, that many of his neighbours have so acquired farms, feels that it is his own fault, if he does not rise in the social scale. He sees the path of improvement open to him and unimpeded by legal obstructions; he sees many of his companions far advanced upon that road; he knows that they have so advanced themselves, solely by their own exertions; and that his own success depends entirely upon himself.

A man so situated will not rest contented, until he has made himself a proprietor, like his neighbours. He will not consent to lose caste, by subsisting upon public charity, while his brothers or his cousins have made themselves, by their own exertions, independent. He will resolve to be independent also.

Whilst there is a single hope before him, he will not sink into the pauper class; and, if he ever does acquire land, rest assured, such a man will be still less willing than before, to become the dependent upon charitable assistance. Before he is reduced so low as to beg, he must sell his land again; and, before he will re-sell that, which has cost him so many labours, and so much prudence to obtain, he will put up with many and with great sacrifices.

Thus, in those countries where the peasants are able to purchase land, they acquire a sense of dependence upon their own exertions, which is peculiarly their characteristic.

The peasant proprietors know, that they have nothing but their own exertions to look to for support; they are not enervated by feeling, that they have no chance of improving their condition, however great their efforts; nor by knowing, that a great landlord, or a board of guardians, will dole out charity to them in the hall or in the workhouse, if they will so far sacrifice their independence as to beg. They fear pauperism as an evil, which means loss of station, comforts, independence, and chance of acquiring property. Nothing, therefore, but extreme necessity will reduce such men to beggary.*

This position of independence of others and of dependence on himself alone, and this consciousness, that his own success is unimpeded by any restriction, ennoble the peasant in his own eyes, and give him an exhilarating resolution to succeed, which increases his virtue and his manliness, as much as it ensures his prosperity.

The fact, too, that he has, or soon will have, a share of the landed property of his country, gives him a much greater interest in the national glory and prosperity. He feels that he himself is individually concerned in the stability and honour of the government, in the

* How little real pauperism there is in those districts, where the land is much subdivided, I have shown in a former part of this chapter.

preservation of public order, and in the improvement of himself and the people around. He thus becomes a real patriot.

It is this characteristic of peasant proprietors, which explains the extraordinary efforts and pains, which the peasants of several of the Swiss cantons are now taking to educate and improve the children of their own class. As I shall show in a subsequent chapter, there is no country, which is doing more than some of the peasant cantons of Switzerland, to improve the village and town schools; to build agricultural colleges; to open the higher schools and colleges to the poorest of the people; to establish Sunday classes; and to induce even the older people to increase their stock of intelligence, and to fit themselves for the exercise of their great liberties.

Even in some of the Romanist cantons of that country, all the educational establishments are thrown open gratuitously to the very poorest of the people; and I myself have seen children of the poorest peasants studying in the classical colleges, at the same desks with the children of the shopkeepers, and of the richest of the people.

The burden of what every one said to me in Switzerland was, "Our peasants are perfectly free here; the land is divided among them, and they have nothing left to wish for; so we all feel, that the more intelligent they are, the better they will farm their small estates, and the better citizens they will become. Those who are rich pay for the education of those who are poor; for

the rich feel, that they are, if possible, even more interested than the poor themselves in the wide diffusion of intelligence, and in fitting the people for the proper exercise of their liberties."

More is expended in Switzerland upon the education of the people than in any other department of the administration. The finest buildings in the country, after the churches, are those used as educational institutions.

The teachers of the poor are some of the most enlightened men of the community, and the work of national education is considered the first great duty of the national executive.

The peasant proprietors have something to work for, something to live for, and something to fight for, which the peasants of our country do not possess. It is not, then, surprising if the peasants of Germany, Switzerland, and France are more energetic, more independent-spirited, more intelligent, more hopeful, more self-denying, more patriotic, more conservative, and more virtuous than the poor hand-bound peasants of England.

A peasant proprietor of Western Europe is in a far more independent position than even an English farmer. He does not depend for the possession of his property upon the will of any man. His farm is *his own;* and, until he chooses to sell it, no man can deprive him of it. It is not, therefore, necessary for him to flatter, or to cringe to some rich proprietor, in order to secure his position. The consciousness of the thorough independence of his position gives the peasant proprietor a feeling and an air of dignity.

This consciousness is, in itself, an education of the highest order: *it renovates the man.*

The duties, too, which the ownership of landed property devolves upon the peasant, tend to carry out this education still further. He is forced, from his position, to understand something of the law affecting rights in land. He is obliged to look to the making out his title, and the proofs of his title, in the registration office; to study how the different taxes affect him in his position as proprietor, and to learn how he must set about defending his right to his property if it is interfered with.

His position makes him anxious to repress taxation; and it, consequently, makes him watch the proceedings of government, to see whether they will lead to an increase or a diminution of taxation. It obliges him to study the signs of the weather; the character of the soil; and the principle of agricultural chemistry; and to watch the results of experiments tried by his neighbours. All this is an education in itself, and renders the peasant-proprietor a totally different kind of being to the mere peasant in knowledge, feelings, manners, and position.

When, therefore, the system of peasant proprietorship is, in addition to all this, aided by an effective educational system, and when the peasant proprietors are really *educated*, as they are in Germany and Switzerland, it may be imagined, how great and how excellent the result must be.

12. *Another most useful and important Effect of the Freedom of Landed Property from the old Feudal Restrictions, and of the Existence of an effective System of Registration, is, that it enables the small Shopkeepers to purchase Land, and renders them more Conservative in their Political Ideas.*

The more a man lives immured in a town, and shut out from the pleasures of the country, the more strongly do his thoughts revert to the healthy pursuits of a rural life, and the more strongly is he inclined to look for a means of escaping, towards the close of his life, from the din, the smoke, the exhausted atmosphere, and the crowded life of the town, and for a means of exchanging all this for the health and tranquillity of a rural retreat.

Under our present system of landed tenures it is seldom possible for a small tradesman to buy a small estate, even if he has saved money enough to enable him to do so. He may often take the lease of a house, or of a house and garden; but he is seldom able to get possession of a small farm even on lease; for small farms are becoming, in most parts of England, less and less numerous every day. And, even if he could get a small farm on lease, that does not offer nearly the same temptation to him, as the possibility of buying a farm would do. He knows that small farms are rare; that their rentals are very often — I might say generally — fancy rentals; that the leases are generally crowded with restrictive clauses, which destroy all the charm of ownership, and which fetter the operations of the active and enterprising improver; and that, by taking the lease of such a farm, he would only run the risk of

being drawn into liabilities; and being fettered by restrictions, which would soon make him a loser, and diminish, instead of increasing, the capital he had saved in business. Whether these fears and doubts be true or not, they certainly exist, and operate as I have said; and I think that this operation is prejudicial to the best interests of the country.

The small shopkeeper feels, that he is excluded from the possibility of obtaining that, which his town life would naturally lead him to long for. He is deprived of a great inducement to saving, economy and temperance.

He feels that if he defers marriage, and denies himself present gratification, he can gain nothing more by self-denial, than an enlargement of his shop and business; and although this is an inducement to prudential habits, it is not nearly so strong an inducement as the hope of one day becoming an owner of a small estate, and an inhabitant of a rural parish. He finds himself prevented from acquiring that, which is the day-dream of townspeople, and obliged to remain all his life in a situation, in which the majority would not remain, if they could escape. It is, therefore, no wonder, that such a man should be much more radically inclined, should marry much earlier in life, and should burden himself with a much larger family, than if he had some strong inducement to support the existing institutions, to practise self-denial and economy in his younger days, and to put up for a time with the less pleasurable occupations of his town life, in the hope and expectation of

being able to change them at a future time for a long-coveted pleasure.

The small shopkeeper, who feels that he can invest his savings in the purchase of a farm, does not marry so soon as, and is more economical, more self-denying, more industrious, and much more conservative in general than, the one who feels that he is prevented by the laws from all hope of ever purchasing a farm.

So beneficial do I believe the system of small properties to be in its effects upon the characters, habits, and feelings of the small shopkeepers, that if I did not advocate such a system for the sake of the peasants, I should do so for the sake of the shopkeepers.

In a country like our own, where the accumulation of enormous masses of uneducated workmen is going on with such a rapidity, it is doubly important for us to consider, how we may render our small shopkeeper class as conservative as possible, in order thereby to create a counterpoise for the influence of the increasing multitudes of the labourers of our great cities. It is impossible to attain this end more surely or more quickly than by encouraging the subdivision of the land, and by teaching the small shopkeepers to feel, that they may become proprietors, if they will only save capital enough for the purchase of a farm. On this ground I repeat what I have said before, that if it were thought inexpedient to encourage the general subdivision of land, yet it would seem to be highly expedient to introduce, at least into the crowded manufacturing districts, some such system, in order thereby to create among the shopkeepers, and among those who would become owners

of gardens or of farms, a strong conservative class, capable of counterbalancing the immensely powerful democratic class, which is now nursing in those districts, and which is increasing there every day in strength and numbers.

13. *The great Subdivision of Landed Property in Germany, Switzerland, France, Holland, and Denmark diminishes the intense Competition for Wealth which is the singular Characteristic of Modern Society in England, and renders the People of these Countries more willing and better able than the Middle Classes of England to make Use of the innocent and healthy Enjoyments, which Providence has placed within the reach of all.*

One curious effect of the existence in a country of a great privileged class, like that of our landed proprietors, is to increase enormously the emulation and striving of the mercantile and professional classes below them. The luxury in which the great estates enable the great proprietors to live, and the splendid entertainments and *fêtes* which their wealth enables them to give, stimulate a rivalry, which is felt more or less through every grade of the *middle* classes. If Lord A. or Squire B. gives dinners in a grand room hung with paintings, and covers his table with costly wines and viands brought from all corners of the world, Mr. C., a merchant living near, will not be content with a condition of life and fortune, which does not enable him, in some degree to emulate the display of his wealthy and influential neighbour. He will, consequently, strive to make his equipage as

handsome, to dress his wife as well, to cover his table in as sumptuous a manner, and to hang his walls with as valuable paintings; and in order to do all this, he will strive to make himself as wealthy as the rich proprietor who lives near him, and who invites him to his luxurious dwelling. Not, perhaps, that he imagines that all this luxury really increases happiness, but because a plain equipage, a plain house, and a plain dinner would prove him to be so much poorer, and therefore so much less influential in society, and therefore so much less respectable in the eyes of his dependants, than his wealthy and influential neighbour the landed proprietor. The luxury of the rich merchant influences the shopkeeper in the same manner, as the luxury of the landed proprietor influences the merchant.

Each class, down to the shopkeepers, emulates the richer class, so that the greater the wealth and luxury of the wealthiest class, the greater will be the competition of the middle classes. *This emulation cannot reach the lower classes, partly because of their inferior intelligence, and partly because of the utter impossibility of the peasants of England ever rising in the world, by any exertion* or present *self-denial, however great.*

Among the middle classes, however, each class in England struggles hard to emulate those above it. The intensity of exertion necessary to ensure any sort of success is very great; but the hope of success induces many to spend the greatest part, and some to spend the whole, of their lives in endeavouring to effect this end.

In no country in the world is so much time spent in the mere acquisition of wealth, and so little time in the

enjoyment of life and of all the means of happiness, which God has given to man, as in England.

In no country in the world do the middle classes labour so intensely as here. One would think, to view the present state of English society, that man was created for no other purpose than to collect wealth, and that he was forbidden to gratify the beautiful tastes, with which he has been gifted for the sake of his own happiness. To be rich, with us, is the great virtue, the pass into all society, the excuse for many frailties, and the mask for numerous deformities.

People in England do not ask themselves, how great a variety of pleasure they can obtain by their present incomes; but how good an appearance they can keep up with it, how nearly they can imitate the manners and habits of the great above them, and how soon they can hope to imitate those manners and habits still more closely.

I have been making these remarks, in order the better to describe the difference of German and Swiss society. In these countries there is no *class*, and but few individuals, who are as wealthy as the class of our landed aristocracy. Their richest class is not nearly so wealthy as the wealthiest class of our manufacturers. The reason of this is, that the whole of the fortune accumulated by a man in his lifetime seldom goes on increasing in the hands of his children, and seldom indeed remains undivided in the hands of a successor. It is generally divided at his death among several persons, so that a great fortune or estate does not remain any length of time entire. But a fortune like that of one

of our nobles can very rarely be built up by one person. To amass such a fortune generally requires the exertions of several generations, to each of whom the former collector has left his gains undivided and indivisible. Where, therefore, the law does not assist the collector to keep his property together after his own death, very few such immense fortunes can ever be amassed.

As the law does not in foreign countries allow such facilities for keeping accumulated, what has been once collected together, the class of really wealthy men there is consequently very much smaller and very much poorer than in England, and the general style of living is much less costly and luxurious. A man may live respectably and happily, in countries, where the law does not keep up a great model class, for one fourth of the income, which is necessary in England.

The French, the Dutch, the Germans, and the Swiss, look with wonder at the enormous fortunes, and at the enormous mass of pauperism, which accumulate in England side by side. They have little of either extreme. The petty sovereigns and a few nobles and merchants are wealthy; but they form too small a minority to exercise anything like so powerful an influence upon the society of those countries, as the numerous body of the English landlords do upon English society.

The consequence is, that the middle classes of those countries are not generally brought into contact with a class very much richer than themselves, and are not therefore so strongly urged into excessive expenditure

by a desire to emulate a wealthy class, as is the case in England.

All classes in Germany, Switzerland, France, and Holland, are therefore satisfied with less income than the corresponding classes in England. They, therefore, devote less time to labour, and more time to healthy and improving recreation. The style of living among the mercantile classes of these countries is much simpler than in England, but their enjoyment of life is much greater. They live not so much as we do to die rich, but to live happy. They do not strive after appearances nearly so much as we do. They do not spend so much upon their tables, their equipages, their dress, or the ornaments of their houses, but they spend more time in the enjoyment of life. They go out oftener into the country, they frequent musical concerts much oftener, they attend the public assemblies much oftener, they associate with one another much more, they keep up more of the olden pastimes and exercises, and they work during fewer hours of the year than we do.

The strain of life and the competition for gain are not nearly so intense with them as with us.

A German or Swiss merchant, or a German or Swiss shopkeeper, trades until he has made enough wherewith to purchase a small estate; and he then often retires from business to enjoy the remainder of his days in the country upon his own land, and in his own house, and to bring up his family amid the improving influences of a rural life.

The hope of obtaining a small estate of his own forms a very strong inducement to exertion and eco-

nomy, and is a much more agreeable and enticing prospect than the hope of merely leasing a country house at some future day ever offers to a shopkeeper in our own country.

A man whose wealth alone would not entitle him to a third-rate place in English society, might, as far as his wealth is concerned, move in the highest ranks of German society. People who feel that the richest class of a country are not far removed above them, care less to devote their whole lives to destroy the remaining disparity, than those whom a long and almost insurmountable distance separates from the wealth and influence of the richer class.

This intense competition of our merchants and manufacturers, and of the middle classes of our country, to emulate the wealth of the superior class, who are upheld by the laws in the continued enjoyment of undiminished and accumulating riches, reacts upon the poor in a very injurious manner. The stronger the desire of the middle classes to amass wealth and to live luxuriously, the more will they endeavour to deduct from the wages, which they are obliged to pay out to those below them; the more will they deal hardly with the poor; and the more difficult will it be for the poor to earn their subsistence.

In a country, too, where, as in England, the social arrangements are such, as to deprive one class of the poor, viz., the peasants, of any means of improving their condition in life, excepting by leaving their homes, this competition among the middle classes of society will press and does press upon the labourers with peculiar

hardship. The man, who fancies he is obliged to keep up a certain style, in order not to be much less respectable in appearances than his wealthier neighbour, will necessarily be obliged to reduce his payments to those around him as much as possible. His servants and labourers cannot expect to receive from him more than the lowest hire at which, by hard bargaining, he can procure their services. And even if the rate of money-wages in a country is high, yet a middle class so circumstanced will get more work out of their labourers in comparison with the wages given them, than any middle class not similarly circumstanced can do. Thus, in our manufacturing districts, although the rate of wages has been always on the average high, yet the labours of the operatives, as well as of the masters themselves, have been intense in the extreme. So that if we consider the work, which one of our operatives does for his week's hire, and compare it with what a foreign operative does for his week's hire, although the amount in value may be greater in the one case than in the other, yet I believe it would be found that the Englishman did not get nearly so much in proportion to his labour as the foreigner.

The objects which strike foreigners with the greatest astonishment, on visiting our country, and of which they see nothing at all similar in their own countries, are,—

1. The enormous wealth of the highest classes of English society.

2. The intense and continued labour and toil of the middle and lowest classes. And,

3. The frightful amount of absolute pauperism among the lowest classes.

The first of these singularities of English society produces the second, and contributes greatly to the production of the third, whilst it is itself occasioned almost entirely by the effect of the old feudal laws, which restrain the subdivision and circulation of the great properties, after they have once been accumulated.

This system is admirably well adapted for heaping up enormous masses of wealth in a state. I believe that no such masses as now exist in England, in the hands of some of the higher classes, could be heaped up under any other system than that now pursued; but it should be remembered how, side by side with these heaps, pauperism goes on increasing.

Could we regard the poor as only the machines, by which we were to create our wealth, even then I should doubt, whether we should be economically prudent to be so careless as we now are, about the condition of the machines; but when we regard them as immortal beings of the same origin, and created for the same destiny as the richer and more intelligent classes of society, then such a system as the one we now maintain, appears to be, not only open to economical objections, but reprehensible and obnoxious on higher and more serious grounds.

Look at Ireland, where this system of great estates, and great ignorance, has been so long in force; what is the result in that unhappy country?

The whole of the land is in the hands of a small body of proprietors. The estates of these proprietors are so affected by the real property laws, that very few of them are able to sell any part of their lands.

The richer proprietors live in England, and upon the Continent, and spend all the produce of their estates, — except the small quantity which is paid to the cultivators of the land, — among foreign people. The trade of the provincial towns of Ireland is consequently nearly extinguished. All the people, whom that trade would employ, and all the people, who would be employed as servants, grooms, gardeners, and ministers to the wants of a resident class of landed gentry, and who would be fed and clothed with what feeds and clothes similar classes in foreign lands, find no employment in such channels, and are obliged to compete for work with the already poorly-remunerated agricultural labourers. There are consequently more labourers than there is labour or food for them. English grooms, English tailors, English shopkeepers, English servants, English workmen of all kinds are ministering in an English town to the wants of the Irish landlords, and are dividing among them the produce of the Irish estates, — which produce ought to be divided among the Irish labourers and Irish shopkeepers.

Of the poorer classes of Irish landlords, who live in Ireland, most have received their estates from their ancestors heavily burdened with mortgages and incumbrances, whilst others have burdened their estates themselves by their own too lavish expenditure.

Nearly all are in such a condition, that they have no ready capital wherewith to cultivate their lands, or to make any improvements; nearly all have quantities of waste lands upon their hands, which they cannot cultivate themselves, and which they cannot sell to the farmers to

cultivate, because of the way in which former proprietors have been allowed, by our feudal laws of real property, to arrange the property, and to divide the whole estate in the land among several successors and incumbrancers.

Most of these landlords have had their hands tied so long, that they have grown, under the long continuance of this system, incapable of taking any step towards improvement, even if the law did not prevent them.

The farmers and the peasants, feeling that they cannot get leases, that they cannot buy land, or obtain any security for investment in land, owing to the expense of conveyancing, to the intricate titles of most of the estates, and to the inability of the landlords to sell, have lost all interest in the improvement of the land, all hope of ever improving their own condition, all respect or sympathy with the government, which supports this system, and are one united mass of increasing, though smouldering, disaffection. They long for Repeal; many even of the squires, the greater mass of the shopkeepers, and nearly all the farmers of the south of Ireland, are unanimous with the peasants in wishing for Repeal. They feel, that they cannot be worse off than they are at present. They see no sign in the English horizon of a change. They would all sooner try an Irish tempest, than stagnate and suffer as at present. And I confess I think them right.

If it had not been that our manufactures and our commerce have afforded an outlet for the peasants of our villages, and have continually diminished the strain upon the labour markets of the rural districts, the con-

dition of the English peasants at the present day would have been just as bad, as the present state of the Irish peasantry. But in England, the peasant can always find an opening in our commercial towns, and in our manufacturing districts. There is a constant emigration going on in England, from the villages to the towns; and the competition for labour in the villages is therefore always far less than in Ireland, where it is so much more difficult than in England, for a peasant to emigrate to a place where labour is wanted. The towns in Ireland are too poor, and in too lifeless and stationary a condition, to afford many openings; while England, is a long way off, and her towns are already too full of the surplus of her own rural districts to take off all the surplus hands of Ireland. Besides, the Irish are so demoralised, and are increasing, owing to their utter demoralisation, at so rapid a rate, that it would be impossible to take off the surplus hands, unless we could retard the present rapid increase of the population.

Let us endeavour to describe the present state of Ireland in as few words as possible.

Ireland itself is splendidly situated, in a commercial point of view, commanding the direct route between Northern Europe and America, with some of the finest harbours in the world. Its soil is proverbially rich and fruitful, and has won for it throughout the world the appellation of the "Emerald Isle." Its rivers are numerous, large, and well adapted for internal commerce. Its people are, physically and intellectually considered, one of the most active and restless in the world.

In every colony of our empire, and among the motley multitudes of the United States, the Irish are distinguished by their energy, their industry, and their success. They make as good soldiers, colonists, and railway constructors as any other people. *They are industrious and successful every where but in Ireland.**

Nearly one third of this rich island is wholly uncultivated, and is nothing more than bogs, moors, and waste lands; the cultivation of the remaining part is generally of the most miserable kind. Most of the great proprietors have no spare capital to invest in the improvement of their estates, or in bringing any of their waste lands

* The Edinburgh Review of Jan. 1850 bears testimony to this undeniable fact, and says: "The capacity of the Irishman to make a successful emigrant has been by some denied. On this subject, however, the direct testimony we possess is stronger than either theory or prejudice. We need only refer our readers to that so conclusively given, and with such remarkable unanimity, by witnesses from all our colonies, examined by the recent Colonisation Committee. The efficiency and success of the Irish emigrant in Canada is attested by Mr. Pemberton and Mr. Brydone; in New Brunswick, by Mr. Perley; in Nova Scotia, by Mr. Uniacke; in the United States, by Mr. Mintern; in Australia and Van Diemen's Land by Colonel Mitchell, Colonel Macarthur, Mr. Verner, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Besnard, Mr. Justice Therry, and the Rev. C. D. Lang. A yet more recent witness is Count Strzelecki, who observes, in his evidence given before the Committee of the House of Lords on the Irish Poor Law, — 'The Irishman improves in two or three years by emigrating to Australia: he acquires habits of industry; he learns to rely upon himself more than he does in Ireland; he has an openness in his character, and shows all that he can do, while here he does not show it. . . . . I saw Irishmen in the United States, in Canada, and in Australia, living as well as Anglo-Saxons, acquiring their grumbling habits, and thus improving continually their condition. . . . . This difference may perhaps be more successfully traced to the consequences of the transplantation from a narrow and confined moral and physical sphere of action, to a larger space, with more freedom and more cheerful prospects of life, and of which they have none at home.'"

into cultivation. Few, of even those who have capital, are energetic or intelligent enough to expend it in so rational a manner. Many, if not most, of the resident landlords, in the south and west of Ireland, are a jovial, careless, hunting set of squires, who think and care ten times more about their sports than about their lands or tenants; while the farmers, and under-lessees of the farmers, will not invest capital in the cultivation of their lands, or in reclaiming the bogs, because they have no leases, and no security for the outlay, and because they do not feel sufficient interest in the land of another to induce them to expend their own savings in improving it; but instead of doing so, have often, as is well known, placed their spare capital, from the want of a better investment, in the banks of Ireland or of England. Many of the squires would willingly sell part of their lands, in order to get capital to improve the other part, while nearly all the larger farmers have spare capital, and would willingly and gladly purchase land and improve it, but both parties are prevented by the present laws relating to land.

Nor is civilisation in Ireland merely stationary. It is actually going backwards. In the last few years hundreds of thousands of acres have actually been thrown out of cultivation, owing, on the part of the landlords, to inability to sell, and to want of capital and activity; and, on the part of the farmers, to want of security, and to being prevented purchasing any part of the strictly entailed estates.

Sir Robert Peel, in his great speech in 1849, on Ireland, stated that in one barony, in the county of Cork,

extending over 80,000 acres, *all* the lands were thrown waste; and that in another locality, the union of Clifden, the rental of which is 19,000*l.*, there were lands of the annual value of 9000*l.* thrown out of cultivation.

The great landlords spend most of their time in England or in Europe, and leave their lands to the management of agents, who have their sub-agents for parts of the estates, whilst these latter often have their sub-agents again. Many of the great landlords know little or nothing of the state of the peasantry or farming on their estates; they receive as much of their rentals as possible, in England or abroad, and leave their agents to enrich themselves too often at the expense of the poor tenantry.

The condition of the peasantry is something which none, but those who have actually witnessed it for themselves, can possibly realise. At the mercy of sub-agents of agents of the landlords — with no interest in the soil — liable to be evicted from their holdings by the agents — totally uneducated, for the most part — a prey to priests, who are as much interested in insurrection as themselves — they live more wretchedly, and more nearly like the vermin of an uncultivated land, than any other people upon the face of the earth.

Everywhere, even in the most prosperous of the eastern counties of Ireland, a traveller, as he passes along the roads, will see, on the roadsides and in the fields, places which look like mounds of earth and sods, with a higher heap of sods upon the top, out of which smoke is curling upwards; and with two holes in the side of the heap, next the road, one of which is used as the door, and the other as the window, of the hovel, which

exists beneath this seeming mound of earth. These are the cottages of the peasantry! Inside, there is scarcely ever more than one room, formed by the four exterior mud walls; and in these places, upon the mud floor, the families of the peasants live, often without a single piece of furniture, excepting a kettle, in which they boil potatoes, a plate or two, a wooden bench, and a heap of straw in the corner of the hovel. In this hole, human beings — men, women, boys, and girls — all live and sleep together, and herd with the pigs they fatten. Gaunt ragged figures, whose clothes hardly hang about them so as to hide their nudity, crawl out of these sties, and plant the ground around their cabins with potatoes, which generally constitute the only food of the inmates throughout the year, or infest, as beggars, the thoroughfares, or swell the rebellious gatherings of the peasantry.

Let Sir Robert Peel describe this state of things. He is not generally given to exaggeration. Speaking of the testimony of the Irish Commission, Sir Robert says, — "They said, 'they regretted to be obliged to add, that though agricultural improvements were rapidly advancing, yet in most parts of Ireland there was not a corresponding advance in the condition of agricultural labourers; that they continued to suffer the greatest privations; that they were badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid.' In the second volume of a useful digest of the evidence on the occupation of land, reference is made to a very curious document, attached to the census made in 1841. Those who prepared that census divided the houses of Ireland into

four different classes, and the result showed that the lowest of the four classes was composed of mud cabins, with one room only. They then ascertained what proportion of the inhabited houses of Ireland consisted of that fourth class. Observe, this report was made at a period which could have reference to no date posterior to the year 1844; and it states, that 'it may be assumed that the fourth class of houses are generally unfit for human habitation; and yet it would appear that, in the best circumstanced county in this respect, the county of Down, $24\frac{7}{10}$ per cent., or one-fourth of the population, live in houses of this class; while in Kerry the proportion is $66\frac{7}{10}$ per cent., or about two-thirds of the whole; and taking the average of the whole population, of Ireland, as given by the census commissioner, we find that in the rural districts about 43 per cent. of the families, and in the civic districts, about 36 per cent., inhabit houses of the fourth class.'

"But I should wish particularly to take the proportion of that part of Ireland, to which I more particularly refer, that part in which those distressed unions are now depending upon a few for the support of a great number of the inhabitants. I should wish to take the proportion there. In Donegal the number of the fourth class is 47 per cent.; in Leitrim, 47 per cent.; in Roscommon, 47 per cent.; in Sligo, 50 per cent.; in Galway, 52 per cent.; in Limerick, 55 per cent.; in Cork, 56 per cent.; in Clare, 56 per cent.; in Mayo, 62 per cent.; in Kerry, 66 per cent. THE LOWEST, OR FOURTH CLASS, REMEMBER, COMPRISES ALL MUD CABINS, HAVING BUT ONE ROOM. In the three last

counties, Clare, Mayo, and Kerry, the proportion of every one hundred families, who occupy houses built of mud, and having only a single room, is, 56 per cent. in Clare, 62 per cent. in Mayo, and 66 in Kerry. Now that was the state of affairs before Ireland was visited by that great calamity, the first appearance of which was in the Autumn of 1845."

But horrible and shameful as this state of things is, it is by no means the full extent of the evil. Not only are the majority of the Irish condemned to exist in such hovels, as Sir Robert Peel describes, but even their tenure of these disgusting cabins is insecure. If they do not pay their rent for them at the proper time, they are liable to be turned adrift, even in the middle of the night, into the bleak road, without a shelter, and with their helpless wives and children. No notice is necessary; no notice is given. The miserable tenants are subject to the tender mercies of a bailiff, without any remedy or appeal, except to Heaven.

More than 50,000 such evictions took place in 1849. More than 50,000 families were, in that year, turned out from their wretched dwellings, without pity and without a refuge!

Is it a wonder that fathers, and husbands, and brothers should often be driven to madness, desperation, and revenge?

A very able man, who travelled through Ireland in the autumn of 1849, says:—"In passing through some half dozen counties, Cork (especially in the western portions of it), Limerick, Clare, Galway, and Mayo, you see thousands of ruined cottages and dwellings of

the labourers, the peasants, and the small holders of Ireland. You see from the road-side twenty houses at once with not a roof upon them. I came to a village not far from Castlebar, where the system of eviction had been carried out only a few days before. Five women came about us as the car stopped, and on making inquiry, they told us their sorrowful story. They were not badly clad; they were cleanly in appearance; they were intelligent; they used no violent language, but in the most moderate terms told us that on the Monday week previously those five houses had been levelled. They told us how many children there were in their families: I recollect one had eight, another had six; that the husbands of three of them were in this country for the harvest; that they had written to their husbands to tell them of the desolation of their homes. And I asked them, 'What did the husbands say in reply?' They said 'they had not been able to eat any breakfast!' It is but a simple observation, but it marks the sickness and the sorrow, which came over the hearts of those men, who here were toiling for their three or four pounds, denying themselves almost rest at night, that they might make a good reaping at the harvest, and go back that they might enjoy it in the home which they had left. All this is but a faint outline of what has taken place in that unhappy country. Thousands of individuals have died within the last two or three years, in consequence of the evictions which have taken place; evictions, too, which are altogether unnecessary for the salvation of the proprietor, and which are as likely to produce ruin to his property as

any other course, which he or his forefathers have heretofore taken with respect to it. But there have been recent outrages committed in Ireland. A respectable gentleman was shot in open day, on the Sunday morning at eleven o'clock, whilst on his way to church—shot, too, while two men were within two or three yards of him; one, in fact, with his shoulder against his saddle. And the man who fired was seen going through the garden and escaping; while two men were walking rapidly over a bog, supposed to be the assassins making their escape. Why were not these men apprehended? Because of the rottenness that there is in the state of society in these districts; because of the sympathy, which there is on the part of the great bulk of the population with those who, by these dreadful acts of vengeance, are supposed to be the conservators of the rights of the tenant, and supposed to give him that protection, which imperial legislation has denied. The first thing that ever called my attention to the condition of Ireland was the reading an account of one of these outrages. I thought of it for a moment, but the truth struck me at once; and all I have seen since confirms it. When law refuses its duty—when government denies the right of a people—when competition is so fierce for the little land, which the monopolists grant to cultivation in Ireland — when, in fact, for a bare potatoe, millions are scrambling, these people are driven back from law and from the usages of civilisation to that which is termed the law of nature, and if not of the strongest, the law of the vindictive; and in this case the people of Ireland believe, to my certain knowledge, that it is only

by these acts of vengeance, periodically committed, that they can hold in suspense the arm of the proprietor and the agent, who, in too many cases, if he dared, would exterminate them. At this moment there is a state of war in Ireland. Don't let us disguise it from ourselves; there is a war between landlord and tenant; a war as fierce, as relentless, as though it were carried on by force of arms. There is a suspicion between landlord and tenant which is not known between any class of people in this country: and there is a hatred, too, which I believe, under the present and past system, which has been pursued in Ireland, can never be healed or eradicated. Of course, under a state of things like this, industry is destroyed, the rights of property are destroyed, and at this moment landlords in Ireland of the most excellent character, and of the most just intentions, cannot make those dispositions of their property, which are necessary even for the advantages of the tenants themselves in some cases, because of the system of terror, which prevails through many of the counties."*

Such is the frightful, the appalling result of our long government of Ireland. We have made it — I speak it deliberately — we have made it the most degraded and the most miserable country in the world, and we wonder, that the Irish should rebel against such a system of misgovernment! All the world is crying shame upon us, but we are equally callous to our ignominy and to the results of our misgovernment. Hitherto we have done nothing to effect a change.

A statute was passed in the past year (1849) to

* See Mr. Bright's late remarkable speech on the state of Ireland.

enable proprietors of estates in Ireland, which are burdened with mortgages and certain other charges mentioned in the act, to sell the estates, and to confer a good and indisputable title upon the purchasers.

This statute is a very good one, so far as it will affect the state of landed property in Ireland, but its effect will be a *very* limited one. It leaves the powers of entailing and settling lands untouched; it does not create any system of registration of titles; it does not attempt to simplify the conveyance of land, except in a few cases; and it will not, therefore, enable the shopkeepers, or the farmers, or the peasants of Ireland to purchase land. It will not create a class of yeomanry farmers, or a class of peasant proprietors. It will not tend to render the lower classes of Ireland either more prosperous or more conservative in their tendencies. The only effect it can have will be, to change the proprietors of some of the more heavily burdened Irish estates. This will be certainly an advantage, so far as it goes, inasmuch as it will transfer some of the land from careless, poor, and ignorant men, to persons having capital and intelligence to improve it. But this is but a drop in the ocean, as compared to what Ireland requires. Ireland requires a class of yeomanry, who would be naturally interested in the preservation of order, in the improvement of the cultivation of the soil, and in reclaiming the millions of acres of rich land, which now lie waste and uncultivated. Ireland requires a law, which would enable the peasants, by industry, prudence, and economy, to acquire land; which would thus interest in the peasantry the support of the government,

and in the preservation of social tranquillity; which would dissipate that hopelessness and despair, which now drives the fine peasantry of that noble island into disaffection and rebellion; which would make the Irish peasant as active and as successful in Ireland, as he is throughout our colonies and the United States; which would induce him to settle on the waste lands at home, in order to cultivate them, instead of escaping to distant wilds to effect there what is so much wanted at home; and which would offer him the same inducements to exert himself, and to practise sobriety, economy, self-denial, and industry, as present themselves to him as soon as he lands in North America. And we want a law, which would bring capital to the land and land to the capitalist.

This can only be effected in the same way, as the same result was effected in Prussia and throughout Germany and Switzerland, viz. by freeing the land of Ireland from the action of the entail laws; by forbidding all settlements, entails, and devises, which would withdraw land from the market beyond the life of the person making such settlement, entail, or devise, or which would prevent any proprietor of land having a life-interest therein to sell the land; and by creating a system of registration of all conveyances, deeds, leases, mortgages, and writings affecting any piece of land, which would render the investigation of the titles of estates perfectly simple, and which, combined with the diminished power of entailing, settling, or otherwise affecting land, would render the transfer of land as cheap and secure, as the sale of a piece of furniture, cloth, or other article.

This would soon lead to the following results: —

1. Proprietors of heavily mortgaged estates would sell at least part of their lands.

2. Careless and extravagant owners would sell part of their estates to supply means for the gratification of their tastes, or for the payment of their debts.

3. Many landowners, who prefer to live in England, would sell their estates.

4. All landowners, who possess waste lands capable of cultivation, would sell at least part of their waste lands.

5. Merchants, farmers, and peasants would purchase farms or gardens; and in this way, land would get into the hands of persons, willing and able to spend capital or labour upon its improvement, and a large class of small proprietors would immediately spring up throughout every county, all interested in social order, in the improvement of the land, and in the prosperity of the country; and in this way, the face of Ireland, and the character of the Irish, would, in the course of a few years, be entirely changed.

Until we can find an Irish Stein or an Irish Hardenburg, who will grant the Irish people free trade in land, by *preventing* its being tied up by settlements, and who will interest the peasants and farmers of Ireland in preserving the public tranquillity and in improving the agriculture of the country, by enabling them to purchase land, we shall have done *nothing*, positively *nothing*, for Ireland.

The expenses of procedure under this new statute will be so great, owing to the intricacy of the titles of

the Irish estates, (an intricacy which can never be diminished, so long as the law confers such extraordinary powers of disposition on landed proprietors), and the cases, in which relief is granted by the act are, comparatively speaking, so very few, that the effect of the statute will never be felt by those classes, who most stand in need of relief, viz., the farmers, the shopkeepers, and the peasants of Ireland.

Now there are three facts, of which there can be no doubt: the *first* is, that the peasants of France and Germany were, fifty years ago, subjected to a social system precisely similar to that now in force in Ireland; the *second* is, that at that time, the condition of the peasants of France and Germany was, according to the testimony of Arthur Young, and many other eye-witnesses, at least as bad, as the condition of the Irish people in the present day; and the *third* fact is, that since the old system of great estates and great ignorance has been changed, and since the system, which I have described has been put into force, the condition of the peasants of these countries has changed most undeniably, and, according to the unanimous testimony of all writers, immensely for the better.

There can be no doubt that in Germany, the Tyrol, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Belgium, and Holland, where a system diametrically contrary to our own has been now for forty years maintained; where all the peasants and labourers are well educated; where good schools and thoroughly efficient and well trained teachers are to be found in every village and town; where no laws prevent the natural subdivision and

sale of land, or promote its unnatural and extremely unhealthy accumulation in a few hands; and where every peasant and small shopkeeper knows, that, if he is prudent and economical, he may purchase a farm; I say there can be no doubt that in these countries the peasants are less pauperised, more intelligent, more hopeful, prudent, prosperous, and happy, more conservative, and more virtuous than they are in our own country.

I have always felt convinced, and I repeat my conviction here again, that if we wish to make an Irish labourer as prosperous, prudent, independent, conservative, and virtuous, as a German, Swiss, or Dutch peasant-proprietor is, we must legislate for the one, as the German, Swiss, and Dutch governments have long since legislated for the other. We must deprive every Irish proprietor henceforward of the power of preventing the sale of the fee-simple of his estates at any time after his death; we must introduce a good system of registration into that country, and render every future conveyance, which is not registered immediately after the making, entirely ineffectual and worthless; we must facilitate the sale of estates, which are now kept out of the market by old mortgages, settlements, and wills; we must greatly increase the efficiency of the Irish system of national education, by building good colleges for the education of the teachers, and by facilitating the erection of schools and the support of teachers in poor districts unable to raise local funds; and until these measures have begun to take effect, we

must maintain public tranquillity and order by the continued presence of a strong military force.

By these means, we should enable and induce the farmers, and many of the peasants, to buy land; we should thus create a class of conservative yeomanry, interested in the preservation of public peace and public order; we should soon bring all the bogs and moors into cultivation; we should stimulate the people to labour, in order to make themselves proprietors; we should induce habits of prudence, self-denial, and industry; we should improve the system of farming; we should make capital flow into Ireland, and we should clothe it with a new and with a progressive civilisation.

Before closing this chapter, I shall show, as briefly as possible, —

14. *What several of the greatest Writers of France think, of the Results of the Subdivision of Land in that Country.*

In France a system exactly opposite to our own is in force. The law endeavours to force the subdivision of the land. It gives every child of a deceased parent a *right* to a certain share of all the land, of which the father dies possessed, and that, too, even if the father wishes to devise it in a different manner.

An owner of land in France may sell it as he pleases, or give it to whomsoever he chooses, or do what he likes with it, *during his own life*, but he cannot devise it as he pleases. On his death, the law gives each child

a right to a certain portion of the property of which his father dies possessed, whether the father has made a will or not.

While in England the law gives the proprietors of land such extraordinary powers of restraining the sale of their estates, long after their own deaths, as to cause the accumulation of great estates in few hands, and to prevent the shopkeepers and peasants buying land excepting in a few instances; in France, on the other hand, the law forces, *as far as it can*, the subdivision of the estates.

Each of these extremes is objectionable in an economical point of view, although I believe the English system to be the most injurious of the two, in its effects upon the majority of the people.

The great problem to solve is, to devise a middle system, viz., a code of laws, which would prevent any land being rendered unsaleable for any period, except while held in trust for an infant; which would allow a parent to devise his land *in fee**, but only *in fee*, to any person or persons he pleases; which would prevent the owner leaving different interests in the same piece of land to different persons, to come into possession at successive periods; and which would also, by means of an effective and cheap system of registration, render the conveyance of a piece of land simple, cheap, and secure. This could be easily effected.

I have said that the French law *forces* subdivision *as far as it can do so.*

It cannot do so in reality, for it is found that where

* *i. e.* so as to give the devisee full powers of sale and disposition.

an estate is too small to be divided further with advantage, one of the children buys the whole, and pays the other children an equivalent in money for their shares; or the whole estate is sold to a stranger, and the proceeds are divided among the children, in the proportion in which the estate would have been divided.

From statistics given by our great economist Mr. Mill, in the Appendix to the first volume of his "Principles of Political Economy," it would seem, that the average size of the holdings of the 3,900,000 *smallest* proprietors of France is between *five* and *eight and a half* acres. And as Mr. Mill says, "suppose as bad an agriculture as exists anywhere in Western Europe, and judge whether a single family, industrious and economical as the French of the poorer classes are, and enjoying the entire produce of from five to eight and a half acres, subject to a payment of only ten-pence an acre to the government, can be otherwise than in a very desirable condition;" and Mr. Mill then goes on to show, from a series of very interesting statistics, "*that there is every reason to infer, from these general data, that the morcellement (or subdivision of the estates) is making no progress,*" *while in many parts of France it is actually diminishing.*

As one proof, among others, of the truth of this conclusion, Mr. Mill gives the following interesting facts. He says, "A new cadastre, or survey and valuation of lands, has been in progress for some years past. In *thirty-seven* cantons, taken indiscriminately through France, the operation has been completed; in *twenty-one* it is nearly complete. In the *thirty-seven*, the côtes

foncières *, which were 154,266 at the last cadastre (in 1809 and 1810), have only increased by 9,011, being less than six per cent., in considerably more than thirty years, while in many of the cantons *they have considerably diminished.* From this increase is to be subtracted all which is due to the progress of building, during the period, as well as to the sale of public and communal lands. In the other twenty-one cantons, the number of côtes foncières is not yet published, but the number of parcelles, or separate bits of land, has *diminished* in the same period; and among these districts, is included the greater part of the banlieue of Paris, one of the most minutely divided districts in France, in which the morcellement has actually *diminished* by no less than sixteen per cent."

This system was embodied by Napoleon and his ministers in the Code Napoleon; and in whatever country the supremacy of the great Emperor was established, there he and his ministers immediately introduced this law; so convinced were they of the enormous benefits, which would accrue to the peasants from such a system, and of the popularity to be gained by the introduction of this change. Several countries, and, among others, the Prussian Rhine Provinces, have retained these laws ever since; and the peasants of those lands still bless the Emperor's memory, for the vast boon he conferred upon them. It was, indeed, a great, bold, and ably-devised measure. Napoleon knew, how these laws would reinvigorate the people; he knew, how the peasants were

* *Two* côtes foncières, or separate accounts with the land-tax, correspond to a *single proprietor.*

shackled and demoralised by the feudal laws; he knew how thankful the peasants, and even the lower part of the middle classes, would be, to be enabled to obtain land; and he therefore adopted the best possible plan for rendering himself and France popular with those countries which they conquered: he freed the people from the feudal laws, and enabled the peasants to become proprietors of the soil, on which they laboured. It is the recollection of this fact, that accounts, in a great measure, for the singular esteem, with which Napoleon's memory is cherished by the people, in many parts of Europe. He was their deliverer.

Reichensperger says, "All have acknowledged, that the wonderful manner, in which the prosperity of France has increased since 1790, notwithstanding the tremendous wars and revolutions they have passed through, is entirely owing to the laws, which now regulate landed property in that country; that it is entirely owing to this cause, that the land of France nourishes at the present day thirty-four millions of people, IN A BETTER MANNER than it used to nourish twenty-five millions; and that its people, by the increase of their wealth, pay, with less imposed taxation, 1300 millions of francs annually, when the old monarchy fell, because it attempted to raise 500 millions of francs annually."

It is worthy of remark, what a great array of celebrated politicians, economists, and literary men of France, after having personally viewed the effects of the French system, have written in its favour. After Napoleon, its legislator, follow as its defenders, Sismondi, Troplong, Say, De Tracy, Droz, Chevalier, Ch. Dupin, Count Gasparin, Count Villeneuve-Bargemont, Tissot,

Chaptal, Passy, Buret, Mathieu de Bombasle, De Carné, De Barante, Morel de Vindé, Moreau de Jonnés, and many others of less note; besides our own English writers, Mill, Laing, Howitt, and others; and the German politicians and writers, Stein, Hardenburg, Thaer, Reichensperger, Dieterici, and others.

Vauban, Mirabeau, Arthur Young, and many other writers, have severally left us very graphic descriptions of the state of the French peasantry, prior to the outbreak of the first Revolution, when the land belonged to the great nobles and the church, and when the peasants and farmers had scarcely ever any chance of acquiring any. They represent them, as reduced to the lowest grade of poverty and civilisation; as badly fed, scarcely covered with rags, wretchedly housed, and only removed one step from famine, to which crowds fell victims in times of even moderate scarcity.

The celebrated Vauban, in 1698, describes their condition as follows*:— "It is certain, that the mass of pauperism is now extremely great; and that if no aid is afforded, the poor, who have no means of assisting themselves, will sink into a depth of pauperism, out of which they will never again be raised. The great high roads, and the streets of the towns and villages, are full of beggars, who are driven out by hunger, and want of everything. . . . . *Almost a tenth of the population are as poor as beggars, and actually beg. Of the remaining nine-tenths, five are unable to give alms, because they are themselves reduced to almost the same plight, and of the remaining four-tenths, three are in a very miserable condition.* . . . . ."

* Quoted by Reichensperger, p. 576.

And although, as Reichensperger observes, when Vauban wrote thus, the population of France amounted to only sixteen millions, while now it amounts to more, than thirty-four millions; yet, notwithstanding, the condition of the poor is now immeasurably superior to what it then was in every respect.

That this miserable state of things had not improved in 1760, we learn from Quesnay, who informs us, that at that time, of thirty-six million acres of arable land in France, thirty millions were cultivated by little farmers, so miserably poor, that their landlords were obliged to advance them oxen, seed, and even money, to be repaid at the next harvest.*

Arthur Young describes the misery of the peasants of France in his time, by comparing it to that of the Irish labourers; he says emphatically, "*It reminded me of the miseries of Ireland.*"

But since that time everything has been changed in France. The labourers have been enabled to purchase lands. The extraordinary powers of the landed proprietors have been taken away. The conveyance of land from man to man has been rendered almost as simple, as the sale of so many yards of cloth in a draper's shop. The peasants have become proprietors of the farms, on which they used to labour as tenants-at-will. The question, which all honest men ought to seek now to answer for themselves is, has this system made the people happier? I am convinced it has done so. Let us see what the French writers themselves say.

* See Reichensperger, p. 376.

SISMONDI* says, — "France underwent a Revolution, at a time when the great mass of the population was deprived of property, and consequently of the benefits of civilisation. But this Revolution has, after causing many miseries, bequeathed to posterity many blessings; and one of the greatest of these is the guarantee, that such a scourge can never again afflict the land. The Revolution has wonderfully increased the number of the landowners. There are now (1819), more than 3,000,000 families, comprising 15,000,000 individuals, who possess estates of their own, upon which they live. So that more than half the nation are interested, for their own sakes, in upholding the rights of all. . . . . The desire of the peasants to become landowners, was accomplished by a great deed of violence, viz., by the confiscation of national property of every kind. The miseries of wars, both foreign and civil, are no doubt evils which our nature dreads, as it does floods and earthquakes. But as soon as the scourge has ceased, we ought to rejoice if any good result has been effected: *and in this case, the good which was effected could not most certainly have been more valuable or more certain of duration.* The breaking up of the great estates proceeds daily; daily are great estates sold, with advantage to the public, to persons who formerly farmed them, and who improve their cultivation. The nation is still removed from having reaped all the advantages, which it may expect from this division of the land, since habits are only slowly formed, and because the spirit of order, of economy, of cleanli-

* Sismondi, Nouv. Principes, liv. iii. c. 3., quoted by Reichensperger.

ness, and of elegance, can only follow a long enjoyment of the new order of things."

In another place he says *—"Whilst the condition of the agricultural labourers in England proceeds rapidly towards disorganisation, and is already disturbed in the country districts, *the peasants of France are improving and rising in the social scale;* they are establishing their prosperity on a sure foundation, and without giving up labouring with their own hands; they are enjoying great prosperity; they are receiving intellectual cultivation, and are beginning, although but slowly, to avail themselves of the discoveries of science. In fact, the condition of agriculture, and of the agricultural classes in France, is as prosperous as the present political circumstances of the country permit."

REICHENSPERGER says, that the comparative results of the English and French systems may be inferred from the fact, that in every 100 inhabitants, there are in France, according to Lawätz, 7, but, according to Villeneuve, only 5 paupers; in Prussia, according to Schmidt, $3\frac{1}{2}$ paupers; while in England there are from 16 to 20!

BURET, who visited England prior to laying a report on pauperism and its causes before the Institute of France, says that in France there is *poverty*, but in England there is *misery*.

TROPLONG, one of the ablest of the living lawyers of France, speaks in the highest terms of the results of freeing land from all restrictions preventing its sale,

* Nouv. Princ. liv. iii. ch. 8.

and thus enabling the peasants to acquire. "This result," he says*, "appears to me a fortunate one, when considered politically, economically, or socially: it is good that labour should reap its own fruits; it is good that the labourer should be enabled to attain a position of independence and of certainty; it is especially good in a society of democratic tendencies, that firm foundations of social order and strong conservative interests should be formed. This peasant proprietor class has the conservative feelings of a landed aristocracy, without their injurious luxury and extravagance; it is equally active and successful, but less ambitious. No other class has so much to lose in the bloody game of revolutions. The state is always certain to find in it the elements of order, and the spirit of industry and peace."

I have no need to observe how singularly these remarkable words have been verified in the late French Revolution. The peasant proprietors have been animated, throughout nearly the whole of France and Germany, with the best possible spirit. The demagogues failed to incite them to sedition by any promises. The people felt they were proprietors, and that they had something to lose. They have universally shown themselves in favour of the most liberal reforms in the political regulations, but extremely adverse to anything like disorder and strife.

Le Comte Chaptal says†, —"Before the Revolution (of 1789) the land of France belonged to three

* Reichensperger, p. 379.

† Des Progrès de l'Industrie Agricole et Manufacturière en France, v. ii. p. 168.

very different classes of *possessors*. The first, consisted of persons, who had scarcely any interest in the amelioration of the lands; the second, consisted of rich persons, who lived in the great cities or at court, and troubled themselves very little about the improvement of their estates; the third, consisted of a great number of little farmers, who rented a small farm, but received so small a part of the returns of their labour, as scarcely to supply their necessities, and who neither possessed intelligence nor money enough to undertake improvements. Now, all is changed. There are no longer any landowners, who do not themselves, either from necessity or interest, take the greatest pains to improve the cultivation of their lands. The tolerably even apportionment of the land-tax, the repeal of a great number of oppressive and injurious customs, *the division of the land among a great number of owners*, have stimulated industry throughout the country, and introduced improvements, which have raised French agriculture to a high degree of perfection." In another work, Chaptal speaks, in a yet more decided tone, of the good results of the division of the land in France. He says *, — "The wonderful change of property, which has taken place in the last thirty years, and the creation of a great number of proprietors, must necessarily have led to an improvement of agriculture. A long experience has shown, that the new proprietor of a plot of land is much more earnest about its cultivation than the former one was; he studies to increase its produce, and shuns no pains to attain this end.

* De l'Industrie Française, quoted by Reichensperger.

He cultivates every bit of land, which seems capable of producing, and does not rest, until he has perfected all possible improvements. Formerly, there were estates in France of very great size, the produce of each of which scarcely served for the nourishment of a single family; *circumstances have caused their division, every part of them has been brought under cultivation, and their produce has increased* TENFOLD. Proofs of the truth of this assertion may be found in all parts of France. . . . When one compares the present cultivation of the land with that of 1789, one is astonished at the improvement which has taken place. Harvests of all kinds cover the land, a more numerous and stronger race of cattle labour on and manure the land. *Healthy and rich nourishment, clean and comfortable dwellings, and simple but good clothing, have been acquired by the inhabitants of the country; misery is banished, and general prosperity has arisen, out of the power of disposing freely of the land.*"

And this, be it remembered, is said of a people who, in 1789, were described by Young, as being as miserable as the Irish.

CH. GIRAUD*, finds the cause of the present wonderful prosperity of agriculture in France in the system of peasant proprietors. He is of opinion that the division of landed property, and elevation of the peasants to the position of proprietors, has stimulated the industry of the farmers, and has proved the superiority of cultivation by small over the cultivation by great proprietors.

* Essay on the History of French Jurisprudence in the Middle Ages, published in 1846. See Reichensperger, Die Agrarfrage, p. 383.

De Barante has treated the question of peasant proprietors politically, and he shows, that every regulation, which tends to draw the population from the villages into the towns, is a great political error, as political riots are never begun in the country districts, but in the streets and squares of the towns. "Nothing*," he says, "makes a people calmer or more moral, than the great subdivision of the land, a regulation against which, persons who have more envy than intelligence, have raised a sort of opposition. By means of this division, the whole population become sharers in the public interests; all are made to love peace and order, which are so necessary to their prosperity; the poor man is made economical and saving; he works harder because he works for himself; his life becomes more regular; and he acquires respect for property, because he himself is a proprietor.

"As far as regards national prosperity and the improvement of agriculture, *one must shut one's eyes, if one would not see, how much both have gained by the new order of things.*

"In the greatest communes one finds scarcely ten persons, who do not assist; the soil is, so to speak, cultivated with the spade; it produces like a garden, AND YIELDS A TENFOLD HARVEST. The miseries of poverty are lessened, since every man is able to care for himself and for his family, and from due precaution prepares more than his own family requires. By this means the whole land is covered with small and divided stores, which to-

* De Barante des Communes et de l'Aristocratie, quoted by Reichensperger.

gether form a great and excellent safety dépôt. Besides, the great variety of products, which the division of property encourages, assists in diminishing the evils of an insufficient harvest."

De Carné expresses a very decided opinion, that the subdivision in France has reached its utmost limits, and that, while some of the greater estates are subdivided, many of the smaller ones are reunited; and that the tendency of things is to increase the number of those proprietors who possess middle-sized farms, and to lessen the number of both the large and the extremely small estates throughout the country.*

"One of the most recent of the French writers, Eugène Buret, has inquired, with great acuteness, into the causes of poverty in different countries, but he does not find it in the system of small properties. He thinks the state of the agricultural classes of France — whose soil is laboriously but praiseworthily cultivated by a crowd of small proprietors — a happy one, and expresses his conviction, that one chief error in the state of Great Britain is, that a small plot of land cannot be obtained there; while, in France, the too great expense of the system of conveying land, and the too great burden of taxation on the poorer classes, are the only causes, which prevent the country reaping the full benefits of their present system of agriculture."†

M. Eugène Buret says: "And yet, although one part of the population of each of the two countries (England and France), — viz., the manufacturing po-

* De la Democratie aux Etats-Unis et de la Bourgeoisie en France.

† Die Agrarfrage, p. 385.

pulation — is subjected to the same economical regulations, we are able to declare, that the majority of the French people will never sink into such distress, as that in which the English poor are plunged, and still less into that more frightful distress, towards which the English poor are rapidly advancing. Happily for us, the two people do not resemble one another, either in their present or in their future. Between them, there is the vast difference of a revolution. One-third only of our poor are employed in manufacturing operations; the other two-thirds live by the cultivation of the soil. This majority of the French population, although generally poor, is in an economical condition, to which it is not possible to compare the condition of the English people. It possesses a considerable part of the soil, upon which it labours, and it is gradually acquiring a greater share of the land, thanks to the law, which divides the lands of the deceased equally among his children. The land does not, with us, belong to a class, distinct from that of the labourers, or to certain privileged persons who are, so to speak, irremovable. The labourers upon the lands in our country are almost all of them elevated to the dignity of proprietors; and, after having lent their arms to the master, who employs them, they are still able to enrich, by their labours and by their intelligence, a small plot of land, which belongs to themselves. In France, there is some land for every one; whilst, in England, the agricultural labourers cannot obtain any, either on hire, or at a very high price. I need not again remind my readers of the peasants of Berkshire, of whom I have already said, that they beg in vain for a little land, in which to plant some

potatoes. In Great Britain, the agricultural labourer works for wages, without having any interest in the land upon which he labours. The great estates, and the great farms, condemn him to that condition of dependence, which is the bane of his industry; while the competition of the day-labourers for work — which requires no apprenticeship, but only the exercise of brute force — keeps the wages much below what is necessary for the proper support of the labourers.

"For such a state of things — which is the absolute separation of capital and labour — there is no possible economical remedy. It is more difficult to liberate labourers from dependence upon a proprietor, than to free them from tyranny. In order to conquer civil liberty, force and audacity only are necessary; but to raise the labourers to a better economical position, great intelligence and great riches are necessary. It is necessary for them to become capitalists in their turn; and how can this great work be accomplished, when both the political and the social institutions of a country are opposed to it; when the law protects the feudal estates from the bad management, from the imbecility, and from the folly of the proprietors themselves? The future will show us, what will be the result of the English system.

"In France, the state of the laws relating to property is quite contrary to the state of these laws in England: it is the extreme division. It is, perhaps, the abuse of a good opposed to the extreme of an evil. The system of small proprietors, and of cultivation of small farms, in our country, is opposed to a system of great proprie-

tors and of cultivation of great farms in England. Landed estates pass from hand to hand, and separate and unite in our country with such a strange rapidity, that economists have busied themselves about the evil effects that the extreme division of the soil produces.

" Such is the condition of man in society, that even good principles themselves may degenerate into abuses. But, happily, the inconveniences which result from a good principle badly applied may be diminished, or even destroyed, by wise reforms. Good principles carry in their natural development a remedy for abuses. It is already easy to see, whither the progressive division of the soil will conduct an intelligent nation. It is quite evident, that there is a means of combining the advantages of cultivation on a great scale, with the advantage of that division of the soil, which, in augmenting the number of proprietors, augments progressively the number of individuals directly interested in making the land produce more.

" *The means is, to associate the possessors of neighbouring lands, so as to cultivate them in common in the manner the most economical and advantageous to all the proprietors.* To arrive at this end requires neither revolution nor violence. The natural progress of men and of things must necessarily modify, in this manner, the economical management of the land in France. *En attendant, however, our peasant proprietors are poor, but they are not miserable.*" *

" M. CHEVALIER has, in his lectures upon political

* De la Misère des Classes Laborieuses en Engleterre et en France, tome première, p. 238.

economy, considered the same question, and has laid the greatest weight upon the condition of agriculture. He pleads for a better system of credit, for improvement of roads, means of watering the lands, &c., so as to increase by one-half the produce of the lands; but no complaint ever escapes him of the agriculture of France being injured by too great division; but it is, on the contrary, manifest from his whole system, that he regards this division as a great benefit."*

MATHIEU DE BOMBASLE says†: "During the last half century has the French system of agriculture been greatly improved; and if a proof of the truth of this were needed, it might be found in the fact, that the *present thirty-three millions of inhabitants obtain a richer and a better nourishment than the twenty-five millions of the old monarchy used to do.* The increase in the value of this year's agricultural products, over that of the first year of this present century, is at least 1500 million francs."

"M. C. DUPIN also rejoices in the increasing number of the small proprietors of land, and recognises it, as a great guarantee for the gradual and steady development of all the resources of the country."‡

The next authority upon this subject is that of LE COMTE GASPARIN. His testimony is very able, and very well worth perusal. He says§,—"If it were really true, that nothing could prevent the progressive subdivision of landed property, that the father's plot of

* Die Agrarfrage, p. 385.

† Spectateur de Dijon, 9th Oct., 1840, quoted in Die Agrarfrage.

‡ Die Agrarfrage, 386.

§ Revue des Deux Mondes, Janvier, 1843.

land would be reduced to a ninth or a twelfth for his grandson, and that after three generations, each Frenchman would only possess $\frac{1}{2\,4\,3}$ of an acre, then we should be all of us obliged to share the doubts of those who oppose our present system; and to endeavour, in spite of the principles of equality and justice, and of all opposition, to prevent the subdivision of the land. Who, however, does not perceive that the conclusions of those, who prophesy such results, are open to the same objection as the arguments of Malthus? they are indeed mathematically true, but in practice they are very considerably modified. It is quite true that, as far as the law is concerned, it is possible that the land may go on subdividing *ad infinitum;* but how do people avail themselves of this legal possibility? It is true that the numbers of proprietors increase year by year, but one perceives, that this division is effected at the cost of the greater proprietors. The smaller plots do not generally subdivide any further. Although some foolish fellows here and there, when they inherit a share of a little plot, demand to have it divided, yet the generality of the people understand very well the evil of an estate of great circumference but of small contents. In these cases they generally effect an arrangement; one man takes the whole property, or else one of the prosperous neighbours purchases it and adds it to his own estate; so that what the system of division had formerly separated are again consolidated. I do not know what takes place in those countries, where the subdivision of land is of recent date, and where experience is wanting; but in my country, where people have gained experience, the great estate divides while

small estates are again consolidated, so that the estates assume such a middling size as best suit the real interests of the people. . . . . In France the small properties flourish, are purchased at high prices, and return a good profit."

Le Comte Villeneuve-Barjemont, who acted as préfet in one of the French departments, and who has given great attention to, and made many researches into, the causes of pauperism and the effect of the subdivision of land, declares it to be his opinion that there is no reason to dread an excessive subdivision of the land. He says,—"If any one travels through the agricultural districts of the greatest part of France, where the land is subdivided the most, he will find *few paupers, few beggars,* and *few unemployed persons.* The population is moreover a stronger one, education is not less diffused among them, and their morality is greater."*

M. Passy, in a work entitled "De la Division des Heritages et de l'Influence qu'elle exercé sur la Distribution des Richesses," which was published in 1839 in the "Memoires de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques," tome ii. 2e série, p. 183. et seq., opposes the doctrine, that the great subdivision of the land in France is likely to increase beyond its natural limits, so as to pauperise the little proprietors. He proves, that the small estates have just as great a tendency to *unite,* as the larger estates have to *divide.* He shows, that in the twenty years, which elapsed between 1815 and 1835, during which period the population had increased 14 per cent., notwithstanding the continued subdivision

* Economie Politique Chrétienne, 1824, v. i. p. 305.

of the greater estates in France, notwithstanding the increase of population; notwithstanding that the same persons were often entered in many different communal registers as distinct proprietors; notwithstanding the bringing into cultivation of many waste lands, and notwithstanding the building in the country districts of many manufactories, each of which is registered as standing on a small estate of its own; the number of the landed proprietors of France only increased 8 per cent.

De la Farelle* says, "that it is an error to suppose that the land is as much subdivided in France as some writers have represented. He says, that the error originated, from calculating all the names entered upon the different communal registers as names of different *individuals*, while in truth the names of very many proprietors are entered many times in different registers, as they possess lands in different communes. He calculates the number of proprietors in France at 5,000,000."

One, however, of the most remarkable testimonies in favour of the system of peasant proprietors is M. Passy's account† of the progress of agriculture in the department de l'Eure, in France, since 1800, when the lands began to divide, and when the peasants began to purchase farms. This department is, as Reichensperger says, singularly fitted to exemplify the results of the peasant proprietor system, inasmuch as it possesses no peculiar advantages over the other agricultural depart-

* Du Progrès Social au Profit des Classes Populaires:—quoted by Reichensperger.

† Journal des Economistes, 1842, p. 44.

ments, and inasmuch as it contains few towns and no great number of manufactories. It is, in truth, simply an agricultural department. We shall not then be acting unfairly or illogically in adopting the results of the peasant proprietor system in this department, as a fair illustration of its general results throughout France. M. Passy gives the following table, which shows that the agricultural products of this department have greatly increased, not only in value but in quantity also, since the peasants were enabled to purchase farms for themselves.

Kinds of Products.	Total Number of Hectolitres or Kilogrammes.		Value of the Products, estimated according to their Mean Price at the Time.	
	1800.	1837.	1800.	1837.
			Francs.	Francs.
Wheat -	1,475,173 Hect.	1,742,729 Hect.	23,502,768	27,883,664
Mixed Grain	289,000 —	419,451 —	3,757,000	5,442,863
Rye - -	136,000 —	211,221 —	1,369,800	2,112,210
Barley -	73,000 —	108,269 —	730,000	1,082,690
Oats - -	578,760 —	1,324,878 —	4,051,320	9,274,146
Buckwheat -	2,350 —	2,914 —	7,050	8,742
Potatoes -	224,000 —	1,221,130 —	672,000	3,663,293
Beetroot -	12,250 —	166,925 —	24,500	332,850
Vineyards -	34,338 —	18,651 —	686,760	373,020
Artificial Meadows -	3,042,025 Kil.	170,130,100 Kil.	91,261	5,108,903
Natural Meadows -	62,729,500 —	96,971,300 —	1,884,785	2,909,139
Gardens -	- -	- -	1,671,000	3,328,400
Cabbages -	6,940 Hect.	33,758 Hect.	152,680	742,676
Wood -	146,640 Kil.	133,200 Kil.	65,988	59,941
Flax - -	1,456,150 —	1,071,760 —	2,912,300	2,143,520
Hemp -	129,600 —	261,090 —	129,600	261,690
Cider - -	733,500 Hect.	926,800 Hect.	5,134,800	6,487,600
Vegetables -	54,210 —	55,856 —	1,084,200	1,117,120
Total -	- -	- -	47,614,812	72,428,364

This table shows, as Reichensperger says, that in the thirty-seven years, which elapsed between 1800 and 1837, the value of the products of the department increased 54 PER CENT., while the population of the department only increased during the same time from 403,506 to 424,762, or little more than 5 PER CENT.; so that in 1800 there was 128 francs' worth of agricultural products per head, while in 1837 there was 162 francs' worth per head.

But it will perhaps be asked, was there not a diminution in the number of cattle fed by the department during these years, to account for this increase in the amount and value of the agricultural products? Quite the contrary; M. Passy says that there was, on the other hand, a great *increase*, as exhibited in the following table: —

Kinds of Cattle.	1800.	1837.	Increase.	Decrease.
Horses - -	29,533	51,151	21,618	
Horned Cattle -	50,809	105,745	53,876	
Sheep - -	205,111	511,390	306,279	
Pigs - - -	46,646	49,191	13,545	
Goats - -	292	808	516	
Asses and Mules	6,807	5,961	- -	846

If it is fair to take this department as a sample of the progress of agricultural affairs throughout France, then indeed there can be no longer any doubt of the extraordinary benefits of the system of farming by means of small proprietors.

But whether we take it as a sample or not, it shows, at least, what amazing results it is possible to attain with a small estate system.

The Minister of the Interior to the King of Prussia, in 1843, and the Minister of Statistics in the same country, the latter of whom has lately travelled in the departments of France, to observe the progress of agriculture, — both of them bear witness to the flourishing and improving condition of agriculture in the latter country; and they show, that there are in France 823 agricultural associations, 20 model agricultural institutions, 9 chairs for agricultural professors, and 4 agricultural institutes, founded for the promotion of the study of agriculture. *

Another equally remarkable and incontrovertible testimony in favour of the small proprietor system in France, is the report of the Central Agricultural Congress at Paris, published in the "Journal des Débats," 30th March, 1847, in which the condition of agriculture in France in 1788, when the land was in the hands of a few proprietors, is compared with its present condition.

From that report it appears †, that in the year 1788, only 612 litres of wheat and corn were raised per hectre, and that from 1700 to 1788, that is, during the time when the land was consolidated in the fewest number of hands, agriculture made no progress. While in 1839, only 39 years after the land was divided, 1301 litres of wheat and corn per hectre, *i. e.*, MORE THAN TWICE AS MUCH PER HECTRE AS IN 1788, just before the land was divided, were raised in the *whole* of France, and in many departments, as many as 1400 litres per hectre were raised!

* Reichensperger, Die Agrarfrage, p. 394.

† Die Agrarfrage, p. 395.

According to the same Report also, in 1760, only seven millions of the French people lived on wheat and corn, while in 1843, *twenty millions* of the French people lived on wheat and corn, and the remainder were much better nourished than in the former period.

Is it possible, after such facts as these, to doubt the benefits of the small proprietor system?

Another testimony in favour of this system is that of M. Bertin, sous-préfet of the arrondissement of Fougères, the most eastern district of Brittany. The report upon this arrondissement, published by M. Bertin, in 1846, is quoted by Mr. Mill, in the Appendix to the first volume of his Principles of Political Economy, as follows:—"'It is only since the peace,' says this intelligent functionary, 'that the agriculture of the arrondissement has made much progress; but from 1815 it has improved with increasing rapidity. If from 1815 1825, the improvement was as one, it was as THREE between 1825 and 1835, and SIX since that period.' At the beginning of the century, little wheat was cultivated, and that little so ill, that in 1809 the produce per hectre was estimated at only 9 hectolitres. At present M. Bertin estimates it at 16. The cattle being better fed and crossed with more vigorous breeds, have increased in size and strength; while in number, horned cattle, between 1813 and 1844, multiplied from 33,000 to 52,000; sheep, from 6,300 to 11,000; swine, from 9,300 to 26,100; and horses, from 7,400 to 11,600! New and valuable manures have been introduced, and have come largely into use. The extent of meadow land has increased, and is increasing, and great attention

has of late been paid to its improvement. This testimony comes from an enemy of the morcellement, who, however, states that it is advancing very slowly, and is not likely to advance much further, the coheirs not dividing each parcelle, but either distributing the parcelles among them, or disposing of them by private or public sale. Some farmers, he says, who are also proprietors, have the good sense to sell the few fields which belong to them, in order to increase their farming capital. M. Bertin is an enemy to stall-feeding, which, he says, is not practised in his arrondissement. The increase of live stock is therefore the more remarkable. . . . . Of the food of the inhabitants, he says, not long ago it was composed almost exclusively of milk, buck-wheat cakes, and rye bread, *but has greatly improved in quantity, quality, and variety,* especially in the last ten years, and now consists of *wheaten bread,* or bread of two-thirds wheat and one-third rye, with butter, vegetables, and, 'in good farms,' about a kilogramme (or 2¼ lbs.) of pork per week for each person. There is also some consumption of other flesh meats among the labouring people, and the arrondissement contains sixty-three butchers' shops, where fifteen years ago there were not thirty, the increase not being in the towns (or rather town) but in the villages. The clothing of the rural population is substantial, 'and different for every season, which is always a sign of general comfort;' and '*persons in rags are very rare in this arrondissement.*'"

Since this sheet went to the press, a very remarkable paper has been read before one of the scientific societies

of Paris, by the well-known statistical writer, M. Moreau de Jonnés, showing in the most striking manner, from a comparison of the statistics of different periods, the remarkable and progressive improvement which has taken place in French agriculture, and in the social condition of the peasants, since the division of the land; but hitherto I have not been able to obtain a copy of it.

There are several points connected with the progress of French agriculture, and the social condition of the French peasantry, upon which all English travellers and all writers are agreed. They are the following:—

1. It is allowed by all, that the industry of the peasant proprietors is quite marvellous, that they seem to spare no pains, which can by any possibility increase the fertility of their farms, and that it is a wonderful thing to see how enthusiastically both men and women labour on the farms. Some travellers call this a miserable drudgery. To me it has always seemed a labour of love and hope, inasmuch as the French peasant knows that he is working, not for a landlord or master, but for himself, and that he and his family will derive all the benefits of every improvement of the productiveness of his farm. If they did not feel a real pleasure in their work, they would not labour as they do. Misery and the mere fear of starvation do not make men intensely industrious. All the miseries of the Irish have failed to produce this result.

2. It is allowed by all, that the *cultivation* of the farms of France is very beautiful, and that the fields are cleaned, weeded, manured, and irrigated, as if they were so many gardens. Each little proprietor knows inti-

mately every square yard of his estate, and is prompted by his desire to improve the condition of his family, and, by the interest which, as owner, he feels in his property, to make it as fertile and productive as possible. The extraordinary manner in which the irrigation of the land is managed in the southern provinces, and in which the streams and rivers are made to refresh the lands in the dry seasons, and the richness of the verdure and green crops, which the peasants obtain by these means, are said by all travellers to be very remarkable, and to testify, in the strongest manner, to the enthusiastic industry and enterprise which the division of property inspires.

3. It is allowed by all travellers, and by all writers on the subject, that the clothing of the peasantry is very good and comfortable. Even those who are the most inveterately hostile to the division of landed property, bear evidence to these facts; while all French authorities concur in stating, that the character of the clothing of the peasantry has very considerably improved of late years.

Some persons talk of peasant proprietors, as if these latter could not sell their estates, even if they found that they could not cultivate them profitably. But this is to exhibit a total ignorance of the whole system. The system of peasant proprietors is literally a system of *free trade in land.* If an owner of an estate under this system has not sufficient capital to enable him to cultivate his land profitably, he has two courses always open to him, viz., to borrow capital by mortgaging his land, or to sell the land to some one who has capital. A peasant proprietor will never keep his land, if he cannot

make a fair profit from it, so as to repay him for his labour and his expenditure. If he has mortgaged it so heavily, as not to leave him any hope of raising more upon it, or of supporting his family comfortably after paying the mortgage, he can always sell his land, pay off the mortgage, and hire himself out as a daily labourer, until he and his family have saved enough wherewith to purchase another farm. *Under this system, therefore, land never remains long in the hands of those, who are not able to cultivate it profitably, or who are not interested in its cultivation.* But under the system of entails and of great estates we know, that it is constantly the case, that landlords have no capital wherewith to cultivate their land; that they have already borrowed so much upon it, that they can borrow no more; and that they *cannot*, owing to the terms of the settlement, sell their estate or any part of it; so that the landlord finds his hands tied fast, while the estate is left in a state of miserable cultivation, because its owner has no spare capital to expend upon it, and because he *cannot* sell it to any one else who has spare capital, and who would feel interested in improving the land, although there may be many such purchasers in the market.

Under the German, French, and Swiss systems, a peasant proprietor never retains his land in his own possession, if he finds he cannot make a profit from it large enough to live upon. There are no regulations, no laws, no settlements, which prevent the peasant selling whenever he feels disposed to do so.

There are always great numbers of rich merchants

or small shopkeepers, who wish to invest capital in land, and who are able to bring capital to its cultivation.

It is the principal feature of the foreign systems, that land can be brought into the market just as easily and cheaply as any other commodity. It can be passed from hand to hand with the greatest facility. This feature of these systems secures their vigour and the productiveness of cultivation in those countries, where they are in force. Land and capital are not necessarily separated. They can be always easily united.

Small estates, however, under a system of strict settlements and complicated successions, such as ours, will always be ruinous; because, under such systems, the small proprietor cannot get rid of his land, when he feels it is ruining him to cultivate it. Land under such a system is often kept for years in the hands of men, who have no capital to expend upon it. So in Saxony, before the beginning of the present century, there were a number of small proprietors, who held their lands under strict settlements; and accounts published in those times represent the condition of the proprietors themselves, and that of their farms, to have been wretched, and to have been progressively deteriorating; and those old reports, with great discrimination and justice, declare, that the cause of that state of things was, not the smallness of the estates, but that the small proprietors could not dispose of their lands to men of science and capital, when they felt it to be their interest to do so.

CHAP. II.

THE CONDITION OF THE POOR IN ENGLAND.

General survey of the social condition of the poor in the towns and in the country districts. — Channing's opinion. — Chateaubriand's opinion. — The amount of pauperism in England and Wales. — The amount of crime in England and Wales, and the connection between ignorance and crime. — The comparative amount of crime in the manufacturing and in the rural districts. — The condition of the children in our towns. — The city mission. — The English Church, in its relation to the poor. — The necessity for more clergy, and for a different order of clergy, for our towns. — The alarming increase in the number of vagrants during the last four years. — The character and habits of vagrants. — The lodging-houses for vagrants in the towns. — The frightful scenes to be witnessed in these places. — The burial-clubs and the practice of infanticide. — The cellar-houses to be found in our towns. — The condition of the houses of the poor in our towns and in our villages. — The causes of this miserable condition of our poor: 1. The neglect of the intellectual training of the poor — 2. The neglect of their religious education — 3. The Game Laws — 4. The system of laws which affect land — 5. The gin-palaces — 6. The want of classification in our prisons.

I SHALL now endeavour to show, from reports published by the Government, and by individuals of the highest authority on such questions, what is the present social condition of the poorer classes in our towns and in our country districts; and I shall endeavour, as briefly as possible, to point out the causes of the condition disclosed by these reports.

The laws, to which the poorer classes of our country are subjected, are so singularly different to those, to

which the poorer classes of foreign countries are subjected, that it is most interesting to inquire, what the results of the two systems up to this period have been.

Throughout the greater part of Western Europe and North America, *all* the children of the poorest classes are educated, *gratuitously*, much better than the children of our shopkeepers; in England and Wales more than half the poor cannot read and write, while the majority of the remainder know nothing of science, history, geography, music, or drawing, and very little of the Scripture history. Throughout the greater part of Western Europe and North America the *habits* of the children are most carefully disciplined from their sixth to their fourteenth year; in England and Wales, little or no attention is paid to this most important national duty. Throughout the greater part of Western Europe and North America there is free trade in land, and the peasants can always, by exercising industry, self-denial, and prudence, make themselves proprietors; in England and Wales it is impossible for a peasant to purchase a piece of land, and it is becoming more and more difficult every day for a peasant even to obtain the uncertain tenure of a farm. Throughout the greater part of Western Europe and North America the governments provide admirable and exceedingly cheap schools and colleges for the sons of the shopkeepers; in England and Wales the schools for the shopkeepers' children are generally very expensive and miserably poor. Throughout the greater part of Western Europe and North America all the men, who are above twenty-one years of age, have a voice in the election of their representatives;

in England and Wales the vast majority of the poorer classes are not allowed to take any part in the election of the members of Parliament. Throughout Western Europe and North America the churches are very democratic in their constitution, and are suited to the religious necessities of the *poor;* in England and Wales the English Church is aristocratic in its constitution, and the people of many districts are suffering from the want of a class of religious ministers, who could sympathise better with their wants, and who could better understand the peculiar necessities of their position in life, than many of our clergy, educated in the habits of, and selected from, the richer classes of society, can do.

If then the poorer classes of our people are much less happy, prudent, and prosperous than the poorer classes of a great part of Western Europe, we surely ought not to marvel.

The great French Revolution of 1789, by uprooting the feudal system in the greater part of Europe, and by making it possible for any member of the poorer classes of society in that part of Europe, by the exercise of industry and temporary self-denial, to acquire land,—by introducing the system of peasant proprietors into nearly the whole of Western Europe—a system never before tried, as far as history informs us,—and by first originating the idea of educating *all* the children of the poorest classes of society, — has begun a work, which will change the whole face of society, by lessening the present disparity between the different ranks, by civilising the poorer classes, by stimulating their providence and industry,

and by greatly diminishing the amount of pauperism, crime, and suffering. This great and new experiment has not had nearly time enough as yet, to show all that it is capable of effecting. That its results, so far, have been very good, I have shown in the previous chapter; but what its effects will be, when the schools and the system of education have been perfected, and when two or three successive generations have been successively subjected, to the combined influence of the division of property and of an efficient education, it is impossible to foretel.

But what is the actual social condition of our poorer classes? Let us first consider the social POSITION of the poor, and afterwards their condition, as resulting from the former.

In the great mercantile and manufacturing towns of our country, it is quite true that the poor man, if he be only intelligent enough to defer his marriage, and to avoid burdening himself during his youth with the expenses of a family, may improve his condition in life, and raise himself in the social scale. But we have done as little as we could possibly help doing to give him the necessary intelligence, and it is impossible for the poor to obtain it for themselves. It is impossible for the poor themselves to bear the expenses of educating their children efficiently, even if they were intelligent enough to understand the value of a sound education for their children; and it is necessary to give them intelligence, before we can make them willing to bear any part of the expense. It is impossible for the voluntary efforts of the benevolent part of a nation ever to suffice for the

immense and expensive work of educating the nation; and it is monstrous to burden them alone with a tax, which ought to affect the careless and selfish, at least as much as the others. We have not one half as many schools as we require for the children of our towns; and of those we have established, a great number are either managed by teachers, who are utterly unequal to the proper discharge of their duties, or are so wretchedly arranged, furnished, and ventilated, or so miserably conducted and supported, as to make it certain, that in many cases, they are doing very great harm to the children who frequent them. Of these schools, many are nothing but poor "dame schools," conducted often in cellars or garrets by poor women, who know how to read, but who often know nothing else, who labour to eke out a miserable livelihood, by undertaking the daily management of the children of their neighbours, and who endeavour with a birch or a cane to frighten the children into learning by rote verses of the Scriptures. Are the doctrines so taught, likely to be remembered afterwards with pleasure, or are they likely to exercise any great influence upon those, who connect them with so many unhappy remembrances and associations? Thus, even in the towns, where a poor man might hope to better his condition in society, if he were only intelligent enough to desire to do so, and to know how to realise his desires, we have hitherto refused to grant him that education, without which, except in solitary cases of remarkable natural genius, he cannot even commence the enterprise.

But unsatisfactory as the *position* of our town labour-

ers is, that of our peasants is still worse. Unless the farm labourer — the English peasant — will consent to tear himself from his relations, friends, and early associations, and either transplant himself into a town or into a distant colony, he has no chance of improving his condition in the world: as "The Times" newspaper has often urged with great force, and especially in some articles published in 1844, "*once a peasant in England, and the man must remain a peasant for ever.*"

Few in number and inefficient in character as the schools for our town labourers are, still fewer and still more inefficient are the schools for our peasants. Even of those, which are established, the greater part are managed by half-educated women; and even where men are employed as teachers, they are generally persons of little or no education, who, being fit for no occupation requiring skill or hard labour, were engaged or set up as schoolmasters, as if instructing youth were an employment requiring less skill and earnest application than any other. Hence it results — and I speak it with sorrow and with shame, but with not less confidence in the assertion — that our peasantry are more ignorant, more demoralised, less capable of helping themselves, and more pauperised, than those of any other country in Europe, if we except Russia, Turkey, South Italy, and some parts of the Austrian empire. I speak this with deliberation, and refer my readers to the account of the condition of the peasants in Europe which I have already given.

But even if this were an exaggeration, and if the peasantry were not so ignorant and neglected, as I have

represented them to be, they would be still utterly unable, in the majority of cases, to improve their condition, owing to the thoroughly depressing social system to which we have subjected them; a system, which was first established in the feudal times, which has long since been abolished in Norway, Sweden, France, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Nassau, Wirtemburg, Baden, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Italy, and America, but which survives here, to keep in our remembrance the unjust, but cunningly devised institution, of which it formed one of the main supports—I mean the system of laws regulating the descent, entailing, conveyance, purchase, and settlement of landed property.

The peasant is deprived by these laws of all inducement to exercise present self-denial, to defer his marriage, to live within his income, or to lay by his savings, even if he were intelligent enough, to understand the benefit, he might derive from such a course of conduct under a well-devised social system. For what benefit would he derive from such a course? He could not purchase with his savings a plot of ground, for land very seldom sells in small quantities except for building purposes; and even if it did, the difficulty and expense of obtaining the necessary legal conveyances present an almost insurmountable barrier. He has but little chance of getting a farm. They are, in these days, generally so large, that they would require more capital than he could ever hope to save; and even could he save enough, the competition for them among the sons of farmers is so great when one does fall vacant, that a

peasant generally stands no chance of success, even if he were to make an application.

What advantage, then, would the English peasant gain if he were to exercise self-denial, to defer his marriage, and to lay by his earnings? Excepting that he would have a fund in hand to use in case of unforeseen misfortune, his economy would be of no good to him, unless he either left his country life, associations, and friends, to enter a town and embark in commercial enterprise, for which his early associations, habits, and education totally unfit him, or unless he tore himself from home to seek a livelihood in some distant land. The English peasant is thus deprived of almost every motive to practise economy, and self-denial, beyond what suffices to provide his family with food and clothing. Once a peasant in England, and a man cannot hope that he, himself, or his children will ever be anything better, than a mere labourer for weekly hire.

This unhappy feature of an English peasant's life was most powerfully, and only too justly, depicted in those articles of "The Times" to which I have referred above. It was there shown that during the last half-century, everything has been done to deprive the peasant of any interest in the preservation of public order; of any wish to maintain the existing constitution of society; of all hope of raising himself in the world, or of improving his condition in life; of all attachment to his country; of all feelings of there really existing any community of interest between himself and the higher ranks of society; and of all consciousness that he has anything to lose by political changes; and that every-

thing has been done to render him dissatisfied with his condition, envious of the richer classes, and discontented with the existing order of things.

The labourer has no longer any connection with the land which he cultivates; he has no stake in the country; he has nothing to lose, nothing to defend, and nothing to hope for. The word "cottage" has ceased to mean what it once meant — a small house surrounded by its little plot of land, which the inmate might cultivate as he pleased, for the support and gratification of his family and himself. The small freeholds have long since been bought up and merged in the great estates. Copyholds have become almost extinct, or have been purchased by the great landowners. The commons, upon which the villagers once had the right of pasturing cattle for their own use, and on which, too, the games and pastimes of the villages were held, have followed the same course: they are enclosed, and now form part of the possessions of the great landowners. Small holdings of every kind have, in like manner, almost entirely disappeared. Farms have gradually become larger and larger, and are now, in most parts of the country, far out of the peasant's reach, on account of their size, and of the amount of capital requisite to cultivate them. The gulf between the peasant and the next step in the social scale — the farmer — is widening and increasing day by day. The labourer is thus left without any chance of improving his condition. His position is one of hopeless and irremedial dependence. The workhouse stands near him, pointing out his dismal fate if he falls one step lower, and, like a grim scarecrow, warning him to betake

himself to some more hospitable region, where he will find no middle-age institutions opposing his industrious efforts.

It is no answer to all this, to tell me, that in Ireland the peasants have small plots of land, and that their state is still worse than that of our own people. The poor Irish have no certainty of tenure, and may be turned out of their little plots, even into the bleak and inhospitable night, without a remedy. They feel no interest in good farming, or in the improvement of their little lands; nor dare they expend capital upon them, even when they have any to expend; for they know not when they may be turned adrift, or when they may be deprived of their plot and their improvements. Fifty years ago it was so, in all parts of Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, and France: the peasants were mere tenants-at-will, and cared as little about their plots as tenants-at-will always have done; and their state in those days was just as miserable, and they were just as discontented, as the peasants of Ireland now are. The governments of those countries were forced to enable the tenants to purchase their plots; and since then, the condition and character of the peasants, and of the little proprietors, have been immeasurably improved; and now, the most prudent, economical, and conservative members of those countries, are the peasants and proprietors of the soil.

To become the proprietor of a small portion of land, is the next step in the social scale, by which alone a peasant can hope to rise: to add gradually to the first acquired portion, are the after steps. But we, and we

alone, of all the well-governed European nations, have deprived our peasants of all possibility of climbing the first of these steps, and of ever raising himself above the peasant class.

The social position of the peasants of England and Wales has considerably deteriorated in the last half-century.

Fifty years ago, the farms were very much smaller, and much more numerous, than at present. They did not require nearly so much capital to work them. They were not, therefore, removed, nearly so far, out of the reach of the peasants as at present. Any peasant, who was industrious and careful enough to lay by sufficient to stock a small farm, might reasonably hope to become a tenant of one.

Besides this, there were many small farms in every county of England and Wales, which were either freeholds or copyholds, and which belonged to the farmers themselves. These small proprietors were the survivors of the old English yeomanry; men who felt that they had a stake in the country, and who were filled with that old English feeling of sturdy independence and honest self-reliance, which always distinguishes a class of small proprietors, and which peculiarly distinguished our old yeomanry. The small proprietors and farmers formed a class, to which the tenant farmers and the peasantry themselves looked up with feelings of interest and pride; knowing that the freehold farmers had sprung, in many cases, from the ranks of the peasantry themselves, and knowing, that if they exerted themselves with equal industry, prudence, and economy,

they, too, might possibly rise to the same positions in the social scale.

But all this class of yeomanry farmers have disappeared; the small tenant farmers are likewise rapidly disappearing; the smaller farms are gradually being united, so as to form large ones; and the chasm between the peasant and the next step in the social scale is every day becoming wider.

A short time since, I was travelling among the farmers of the middle of Wales. One of them, an old man, with whom I spent some time at Aberystwith, speaking to me of the state of the country fifty years ago, said, "Times are greatly changed, sir, since I was a young man. In those days, Wales was very little visited by the English. In many parts, which are now the resorts of travellers, there were then no roads at all. Many people now living can remember, when the high roads through their villages were made, and when the first coach was started upon them.

"In those days, there were, all over the centre and north of Wales, great numbers of freehold farmers, who owned their own farms and cultivated them themselves. I can remember, that Aberystwith was in those days the summer resort and bathing-place of these yeomanry farmers. Great numbers used to come up to Aberystwith in the summer, each of them bringing his horse with him. I can show you the fields, where their horses used to be turned out to grass in the evenings. Many of the farmers used to spend a few weeks every year in this manner, in order to meet one another and to converse together.

"But since that time, all this class of yeomanry farmers has entirely disappeared. Owing to different causes, the larger landed proprietors have, on all hands, diligently bought up all the smaller farms, have united them to their great estates, and have included them in their settlements.

"All the farmers at the present day hold their farms, at the will of their landlords, or rather at the will of the agents of their landlords, for it is very seldom, that a farmer is allowed to treat directly with his landlord. There are often, as many as three and four subagents, with one of the latter of whom the farmer is often obliged to treat, and on whose will the farmer depends for the continuance of his possession.

"The agents are almost absolute; for they know that nothing is easier, than to let a farm, when it falls vacant. There are always plenty of applicants, who will bid against one another, until one wonders, how the last bidder can expect to make a profit from his bargain. Indeed, the agents are often obliged to choose a lower bidder, rather than one of the higher; because they know that the highest bidder could not make it pay, and would soon be in the workhouse, after having, most probably, defrauded his landlord of part of his rental.

"You may imagine, what the powers of an agent in this country are, and what the extortion, they sometimes practise, is, and how helpless the farmers are, when I assure you, that I know, that a gentleman, who owns a great estate near Aberystwith, and who has always been an excellent landlord, and has managed his estates himself, was only a short time since offered, for the

agency and direction of his estates, 2000*l.* a-year, and guarantees, in addition, for the receipt of as great a rental as his present one!

"The farmers are the creatures of the agents, are at their mercy absolutely, seldom transact directly with the landlords, and have very seldom any security of tenure."

This account was corroborated by other Welsh farmers, with whom I conversed. One told me, that he knew a case, where the landlord had a steward, A, who had a subagent, B, who had a subagent, C, and that the farmers on the part of the estate, which was managed by C, were entirely at his beck, and subjected absolutely to his management.

Another told me, that the competition for vacant farms was disastrous and ridiculous in the extreme. He said, that whenever one fell vacant, the peasants, feeling that it was their only chance of rising in the world, and that they could not be much worse off than at present, were willing to offer any rent for it, so that they might but try to farm it.

Such is the system, for which they have exchanged the old one of small farms and yeomanry farmers.

In Westmoreland and Cumberland there have been, from ancient times to within the last few years, a great number of small estates, varying in size from five to forty acres, and belonging to peasants and small farmers. These little estates and the houses upon them have always been distinguished by their neatness, good cultivation, and general prosperity. The peasantry of these parts of our island have always been remarkable

for their intelligence, their sobriety, their activity, and their contentment.

I was in Westmoreland for some time, during the autumn of 1849, and I took great pains to discover the present condition of the last survivors of these small proprietors. I cannot describe it better, than by giving the words of a gentleman of great intelligence and of Conservative principles, who is engaged in the management of some of the largest estates in Westmoreland and Cumberland. He resides in that part of the country, and is interested in opposing the system of peasant proprietors. There are obvious reasons, why I cannot mention this gentleman's name. He said to me: —

"The greater proprietors in this part of the country are buying up all the land they can get hold of, and including it in their settlements. Whenever one of the small estates is put up for sale, the great proprietors outbid the peasants, and purchase it at all costs. The consequence is, that for some time past, the number of the small estates held by the peasants, has been rapidly diminishing in all parts of the country. In a short time, none of them will remain, but all will be merged in the great estates. While this has been going on, the great landowners have been also increasing very considerably the size of the farms. The smaller farms have been united, in order to form great farms out of them. So that, not only is it becoming more and more difficult every day for a peasant to *buy* land in this part of the country, but it is also gradually becoming impossible for him to obtain even a leasehold farm. The consequence is, that the peasant's position, instead of being what it

once was, one of hope, is gradually becoming one of despair. Unless a peasant emigrates, there is now no chance for him. It is impossible for him to rise above the peasant class.

"All this I believe to be a great evil. I have lived all my life among these people, and I believe, that the old system of small estates was one, which did the greatest possible good to the peasants. It stimulated them to exertion, self-denial, and sobriety, by affording them a chance of obtaining a farm of their own; and when they had obtained one, it made them interested in the careful cultivation of the soil, in the preservation of public order, and in the general prosperity of the country.

"Besides all this, the situation and duties of a small landowner were in themselves an excellent education to the small proprietor. He had many things to do and think of, with reference to county rates, poor-rates, police, markets, agriculture, the effects of national proceedings on prices and on taxation, and the seasons. All this was as interesting to the peasants, and as improving to them, as it is to our country gentlemen, and it made up, in great measure, for the want of good schools and good instruction. But all the effect of this education of circumstances is now being done away. The situation of the peasant is becoming one void of hope, and of all improving influences whatever."

The rapidity, with which the small freeholds have been merged in the larger throughout the country, is very singular, and is a very decisive proof of the deterioration of the social position of the farmers and

peasants, especially when it is borne in mind, that, whilst the numbers of the small freeholds and farms have so much diminished, the numbers of the population have much more than doubled. In order that the peasant class should be in even as good a social condition now, as they were in some seventy years ago, the numbers of small freeholds, which were within their reach in those days, ought to have doubled, as the number of the peasants has done. But what has been the course of events?

In the year 1770, there were, it is said, in England alone, 250,000 freehold estates in the hands of 250,000 different families. In the year 1815, at the close of the revolutionary war, the whole of the lands of England were concentrated in the hands of only 32,000 proprietors.* So that, in fact, since 1770, the numbers of the freeholds have been diminishing, at a much greater ratio, than that at which the numbers of the population have been during the same time increasing.

As the Rev. Henry Worsley says, "the labourer's hope of rising in the world is a forlorn one. There is no graduated ascent up which the hardy aspirant may toil step by step with patient drudgery. Several rounds in the ladder are broken away and gone. A farm of some hundred acres, requiring for their due cultivation a large capital, would be a day-dream too gaudy ever to mix itself with the visions of the most ambitious labourer, earning, on an average, probably less than nine shillings a-week. The agricultural workman's horizon is bounded by the high red-brick walls of

* The Rev. H. Worsley's Essay on Juvenile Depravity, p. 53.

the union house: his virtual marriage settlement can only point to such a refuge if troubles arise: his old age may there have to seek its last shelter."*

And yet, notwithstanding that the peasants are deprived of any chance of obtaining land or a leasehold farm, it appears, from the statistics given by Mr. Porter, that in 1827, there were about 15,000,000 of statute acres of land in the British islands, which were capable of being cultivated, but which were lying uncultivated.

In 1847 it appears, according to the same well known writer, that there were still remaining about 11,300,000 acres wholly uncultivated, all of which were capable of cultivation. Now, when we consider this fact in conjunction with the wretched state of our peasantry, it does appear somewhat unreasonable, that such a system should be suffered to exist.

What is the effect of all this? Why, that the millions in England and Wales fancy that they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by political changes, and that, instead of our institutions being based upon the conservatism of the masses, they are only based upon the conservatism of the few. So that we have really much more reason than any other country to dread the growth of democracy.

Besides the depressing and demoralising effect of our system of monopoly of land upon the peasants; another great evil, which results from our English system of great and few farms, and great and few estates, is, that

* Essay on Juvenile Depravity, p. 54.

it drives vast numbers of the young peasants, and of the younger sons of farmers, into the manufacturing towns, and by overstocking their labour markets, renders it more and more difficult every year, for the small shopkeepers and labourers of these towns, to make a livelihood amid the ever-increasing competition around them.

Let us look this evil more fully in the face. An active and enterprising son of a farmer or peasant sees, that there is no chance of his ever getting a farm in his native parish, or of his ever purchasing or even renting a small plot of land, or of his ever rising above the rank of a farm labourer earning eight or nine shillings a-week. The only opening left for such a young man, if he would climb above the lowest rank in the social scale—the peasant's position—is, either to go and seek his fortune in one of our colonies, or in one of our towns. There are many such young men, who cannot persuade themselves to break off the ties of home and kindred, and to leave their native country, but who feel compelled to leave their native villages. All such crowd to the great manufacturing towns of England. The peasants go, to seek labour as operatives or artisans; the sons of the farmers go, to endeavour to establish shops or taverns. What is the result? The labour market in the manufacturing towns is constantly overstocked; the labourers and shopkeepers find new and eager competitors constantly added to the list; competition in the towns is rendered unnaturally intense, profits and wages are both unnaturally reduced; the town workhouses and the town gaols are crowded with inmates;

the inhabitants are overburdened with rates, and the towns swarm with paupers and misery.

I know not what others may think, but to me it is a sad and grievous spectacle, to see the enormous amount of vice and degraded misery which our towns exhibit, and then to think, that we are doing all we can to foster and stimulate the growth and extension of this state of things, by that system of laws, which drives so many of the peasants of both England and Ireland to the towns, and increases the already vast mass of misery by so doing.

I speak with deliberation when I say, that I know no spectacle so degraded, and if I may be allowed to use a strong word, so horrible, as the back streets and suburbs of English and Irish towns, with their filthy inhabitants; with their crowds of half-clad, filthy, and degraded children, playing in the dirty kennels; with their numerous gin-palaces, filled with people, whose hands and faces show how their flesh is, so to speak, impregnated with spirituous liquors—the only solaces, poor creatures, that they have!—and with poor young girls, whom a want of a religious training in their infancy, and misery, has driven to the most degraded and pitiful of all pursuits.

Go to London, reader, or to Manchester, or Liverpool, or Preston, or Norwich, or Nottingham, or York, or Chester, or to any other of our large and increasing manufacturing or commercial towns, and see if my description is exaggerated. An hour's walk in any one will suffice to convince you of its sad truth. And are you then willing to aid in stimulating this system?

Greater evils never threatened civilisation and religion, than the great cities which have been springing into existence within the last one hundred years. If we would save civilisation, religion, and the morality and happiness of our people, we must reform our towns. And one great step towards that end will be to do away with those causes, which drive so many of our agricultural population into them.

Dr. Channing, in his "Duty of Free States," says:—

"To a man who looks with sympathy and brotherly regard on the mass of the people, who is chiefly interested in the 'lower classes,' England must present much that is repulsive. . . . . The condition of the lower classes at the present moment is a mournful comment on English institutions and civilisation. The multitude are depressed in that country to a degree of ignorance, want, and misery, which must touch every heart not made of stone. In the civilised world there are few sadder spectacles than the present contrast in Great Britain of unbounded wealth and luxury, with the starvation of thousands and tens of thousands, crowded into cellars and dens, without ventilation or light, compared with which the wigwam of the Indian is a palace. Misery, famine, brutal degradation, in the neighbourhood and presence of stately mansions, which ring with gaiety, and dazzle with pomp and unbounded profusion, shock us as no other wretchedness does. . . . . It is a striking fact, that the private charity of England, though almost incredible, makes little impression on this mass of misery; thus teaching the rich and titled, 'to be just before they are generous,' and

not to look to private munificence as a remedy for the evils of selfish institutions."

Listen to what the great French writer, the Viscount Chateaubriand, says in his "Essays on English Literature," Paris, 1838. "Society such as it now is in England will not continue to endure. According as education makes its way among the people, the cancerous sore which has gnawed social order since the beginning of the world, a sore that causes all the suffering and popular discontent that we see, will be detected. The too great inequality of ranks and fortunes was borne with so long as it was concealed, on the one hand by ignorance, and, on the other, by the factitious organisation of large towns; but, so soon as that inequality becomes generally apparent, it will receive its death-blow. Reconstruct if you can aristocratic fictions. Try to persuade the poor man, when he shall be able to read — him to whom knowledge is daily supplied by the press, scattering its lights in every town and village, — try to persuade the individual possessing the same information and intelligence as yourselves, that he ought to submit to all sorts of privations, while some one, his neighbour, enjoys, without labour, all the superfluities of life, and your efforts will be fruitless. Do not expect from the masses, virtues, which are beyond the force of humanity."

But let us examine the statistics and facts which show the condition of our poor.

First, with respect to their *pauperism*.

Before the enactment of the new poor law, we were expending *annually* between 6,000,000*l.* and 7,000,000*l.*

for the relief of abject pauperism in England and Wales alone. Since the enacting of the new poor law, we have been expending in the same cause between 4,000,000*l.* and 5,000,000*l.* per annum; and, from Lady-Day, 1835, to Lady-Day, 1848 — or, in 17 years — we expended on the same object, 87,505,826*l.*, without reckoning the vast sums, which have been sunk in the administration of the poor law in the different unions, or the immense sums, which have been given away annually by charitable individuals and charitable societies. All this, be it remembered, has been required to alleviate the miserable condition of our labouring population, and to keep crowds from actual starvation. Their independence is destroyed: they cannot live unless they depend upon the charity of the higher classes.

The enormous sums which — exclusive of all charitable donations — have been annually expended by the union boards, in alleviating the sufferings of our labourers since 1832, are given in the accompanying table.

Amount expended in the Relief and Maintenance of the Poor in England and Wales, exclusive of all the immense Expenditure of Poor Law Administration in the Unions and Parishes.

Years.	£
1832	7,036,969
1833	6,790,800
1834	6,317,255
1835	5,526,418
1836	4,717,630
1837	4,044,741
1838	4,123,604
1839	4,406,907
1840	4,576,965
1841	4,760,929

Years.	£
1842	4,911,498
1843	5,208,027
1844	4,976,093
1845	5,089,703
1846	4,954,204
1847	4,678,110
1848	5,435,973

Now, without proceeding further, it surely cannot, and will not, be contended, that a labouring population, which requires such an expenditure as this, — and that, too, in addition to the vast amount of charitable donations devoted annually to the same purpose, — to keep part of it from actual starvation, can be in a very happy, prosperous, or satisfactory condition! What country is there in Europe, or in the world, where such an expenditure is found to be necessary to save the labourers from starvation? What other country in Europe, or in the world, is obliged to keep up such a poor-law system, and for such a purpose? What other country in the world is there, where private individuals are obliged to dole out so many charitable donations for the same unhappy purpose? Why should not our peasants be at least as well able to depend on their own exertions for subsistence, as the peasants of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, or the provinces of France? Why should not our peasants be as well able to dispense with charitable donations, and as much above receiving them, as our middle classes?

Why is it that the Prussian, Saxon, Swiss, and French peasantry do not require nearly so much public relief like this? Because they have been taught and enabled to help themselves, and because they are as-

sisted, and not hindered, by legislation in their efforts to work out their own independence.

In 1848, in addition to the hundreds of thousands assisted by charitable individuals, 1,876,541 paupers were relieved by boards of guardians, or about one person out of every EIGHT of the population was a pauper in 1848. Let every one consider the astounding nature of this fact, and let him remember, that nothing like it exists in Germany, Switzerland, or France.

The numbers of paupers relieved each year since 1840, by the boards of guardians, in England and Wales, have been as follows:—

Years.	Number of Paupers relieved in England and Wales.
1840	1,199,529
1841	1,299,048
1842	1,427,187
1843	1,539,490
1844	1,477,561
1845	1,470,970
1846	1,332,089
1847	1,721,350
1848	1,876,541

In each of the above years there have been the above-mentioned vast numbers of paupers, who, *exclusive of all those assisted by charitable individuals*, have been unable to exist in England and Wales, without begging assistance from the guardians. And to these have to be added also, all the beggars and vagrants, who crowd our streets and roads, and of whom I shall say more hereafter, and all those, who are in the receipt of alms from their richer neighbours, but who do not like to apply to boards of guardians for relief.

More than 2,000,000 of people were kept from starvation in England and Wales in the year 1848 by

relief doled out to them from public or from private sources; so vast is the amount of misery and social degradation among the poor of England and Wales, and so great the destitution to which they are reduced!

Look, too, at the statistics, which show the frightfully low moral condition of our labouring classes, and the connection which is found to exist between the ignorance of the labourers and their criminality.

The following table shows the number and the character of the education of all those, who were committed for crime in England and Wales, from 1836 to 1847. It shows how fearfully crime is increasing among our poor, and how clear and undeniable it is, THAT THE GREATEST PART OF THEIR IMMORALITY IS THE DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE EFFECT OF THE UTTER NEGLECT OF THEIR EDUCATION.

Years.	Total No. of Persons committed for Crime.	No. who could neither read nor write.		No. who could read only, or read and write imperfectly.		No. who could read and write well.		No. who had received superior Education.		No. whose Instruction was not ascertained.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.
1836	20,984	5598	1435	8,968	2015	2016	199	176	15	490	72
1837	23,672	6684	1780	10,147	2151	2057	177	98	3	421	94
1838	23,094	6342	1601	10,008	2326	2051	206	74	5	430	51
1839	24,443	6487	1709	10,523	2548	2201	261	74	4	546	90
1840	27,187	7145	1913	12,151	2958	2038	215	100	1	541	125
1841	27,760	7312	1908	12,742	2990	1839	214	126	0	541	88
1842	31,309	8162	1959	14,983	3277	1890	231	65	4	633	98
1843	29,591	7344	1829	13,892	3153	2127	244	134	6	754	108
1844	26,542	6266	1635	12,745	2990	1892	264	109	2	537	102
1845	24,303	5698	1740	11,215	2964	1859	178	86	3	483	77
*1846	25,107	7698		14,941		1936		85		446	
*1847	28,833	9501		16,980		2246		81		475	
1848	30,349	7530	2161	13,950	3161	2634	350	76	5	396	86

* I have not by me the full analysis of the returns of these two years.

Mr. Porter, from whose admirable work, "The Progress of the Nation," I have extracted this table, in commenting upon it, says: —

"The most cursory glance at these figures must carry conviction to every mind, that instruction has power to restrain men from the commission of crimes—of such a nature, at least, as will bring them before a bar of justice. If we class together those, who can neither read nor write, and those, who have acquired only an imperfect acquaintance with those elementary branches of knowledge—the scaffolding merely for the erection of the moral edifice—we find, that in the ten years comprised in the returns, there were, out of 252,544 persons committed, and whose degrees of instruction were ascertained, the great proportion of 229,300, or more than 90 in 100, *uninstructed* persons; while *only* 1085 *persons had enjoyed the advantages of instruction beyond the elementary degree,* and only 22,159 had mastered, without advancing beyond, the acts of reading and writing.

"These numbers embrace both males and females. If we examine the returns, with the view of determining the moral influence of instruction upon females, we find that among the 252,544 persons above described, there were 47,113 females, 18·65 per cent. of the whole; but when we inquire, in what proportions females are divided among the different classes as respects instruction, we see, that among the 229,300 uninstructed persons, there were 44,881 females, or 19·57 per cent.; while among 22,159 who could read and write well, there were but 2,189 females, or 9·88 per cent.; and among the better

instructed 1085 persons, there were only 43 females, or 3·96 per cent. The proportions in each 10,000 persons accused that were furnished by the males and females of the social classes, were as follows:—

"In each 10,000 persons committed for crime there were —

Of—	Males.	Females.	Total.
Those wholly uninstructed, and those who could read only, or read and write imperfectly -	7303	1776	9079
Those who could read and write well - - - - - -	791	86	877
Those superiorly instructed -	42	2	44
	8136	1864	10,000

"Of the 43 instructed females accused of crimes throughout England and Wales in ten years, the large proportion of 15 belong to the first year of the series. Of these, 12 were accused of simple larceny, 1 for receiving stolen goods, 1 for fraud, and 1 for perjury. *There were, consequently, in nine years, only twenty-eight educated females brought to the bar of criminal justice;* viz. 3 in 1837, 5 in 1838, 4 in 1839, only 1 in 1840, and in 1841, not one educated female was committed for trial among 7,673,633 females then living in that part of the United Kingdom. In the remaining four years the numbers were; in 1842, 4; 1843, 6; 1844, 2; and in 1845, 3.

"How much the internal peace of the country may be affected, by the prevalence of ignorance or the spread of knowledge, may be reasonably inferred from the

state of instruction of persons tried at the special commission in October, 1842, arising out of the then recent rising in the manufacturing districts. This is shown by the following table: —

	Cheshire.	Lancashire.	Staffordshire.	Total.	Centesimal Proportion.
Neither read nor write - -	26	47	81	154	27·16
Read only - -	30	26	99	155	27·34
Read and write imperfectly - -	28	97	59	184	32·45
Read and write well	9	28	36	73	12·87
Superior Instruction	- -	- -	1	1	0·18
	93	198	276	567	100·00

"In 1840, there were 100 males and 1 female who had received instruction beyond reading and writing, committed for trial in the various counties of England and Wales. Of this number, only 59 (58 males and *one* female) were convicted, being under 59 per cent. of the number accused, while the *convictions* generally in that year exceeded 73 per cent. of the *accused.*

"In twenty counties of England and Wales, with a population of 8,724,338 persons, there were convicted *fifty-nine* instructed persons, or 1 to every 147,870 inhabitants; while the remaining thirty-two counties, with a population of 7,182,491, *had not furnished one convict who had received more than the earliest elements of instruction.* It is even more worthy of remark, that Middlesex, the metropolitan county, with its 1,576,616 inhabitants, among whom the proportion of instructed persons is at least equal to that in any other county, *did*

not furnish one educated convict; a fact which, considering the diversity, conditions, and occupations, and the amount of temptations that assail its inhabitants, would be most difficult to believe upon any testimony less certain than that of official returns.

"In 1841, in fifteen English counties, with a population of 9,569,064, there were convicted 74 instructed persons, or 1 to every 129,311 inhabitants; while the twenty-five remaining counties of England, and the whole of Wales, with a population of 6,342,661, *did not among them furnish one conviction of a person who had received more than the mere elements of education.* It will be remembered, as a most interesting fact, one which speaks irresistibly in favour of a general system of education, *that not one of the* 100 *was a female!*"

One remarkable fact, which singularly illustrates the evil effects of our rural system, is, that notwithstanding the extraordinary numbers of workmen crowded together in the manufacturing towns of Lancashire, and, notwithstanding the moral injury, which those towns suffer from the continual influx of wretched beings driven thither by want from our rural districts and from Ireland, *the annual proportion of criminals to population is very considerably less in the manufacturing towns of Lancashire, than in many of our agricultural counties!*

The supposition that the proportion of crime to population is greater in the manufacturing than in the rural districts, is one which has been taken for granted by many writers, but which is totally unfounded. The reverse of this proposition is the truth. The error has

arisen from calculating the annual amount of crime in Liverpool, as forming part of the crime committed in the *manufacturing* districts; forgetting that Liverpool is not a manufacturing town, but a *sea-port*; that it is the nearest English *sea-port* to Ireland; and that the greatest amount of the crime annually committed in Liverpool, is committed, either by vagrant Irish, by the constantly changing sailor population, or by the labourers in the docks, who are demoralised by association with the sailors.*

Let us shortly examine the extraordinary criminality of Liverpool.

It appears that in the eleven months ending 30th November, 1849, 6194 persons were brought before the magistrates of Liverpool charged with felony, *of whom only* 1489 *were natives of Liverpool; all the remainder,* viz. 4705, *were strangers!*

As Mr. Clay says, in his report for 1849:—"It is the GREAT SEA-PORT of the southern division, which throws its own dark aspect over the moral reputation of the entire county; and I now beg to submit evidence to demonstrate, how much the COMBINED criminality of Manchester, Salford, Bolton, and Preston—the great 'manufacturing centres'—falls below that of Liverpool alone, which scarcely, if at all, subjects to the action of machinery a single fibre of all the cotton landed from its magnificent docks. Having been obligingly furnished by Captain Willis, Mr. Dowling, Mr. Neale, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Banister with their respective

* See the Rev. J. Clay's admirable Report on the Preston Gaol for 1849.

reports on the state of crime in the several towns which they superintend, I am enabled to give the following concise summary of crime and disorder in those towns:—

Comparative View of Criminality and Disorder in the manufacturing Towns of Manchester, Salford, Bolton, and Preston, and the Seaport of Liverpool, founded on the Police Returns of the respective Places.

	Manchester.	Salford.	Bolton.	Preston.	Total.	Per Cent. to Pop.	Liverpool.	Per Cent. to Pop.
	1848.	1849.	848-9.	1848.			1848.	
Estimated Population -	300,000	62,000	69,000	68,000	499,000		390,000	
Total of apprehensions	6,277	1,624	1,950	1,626	11,477	2·3	22,036	5·64
Committed for trial -	825	149	127	81	1,182	0·24	937	0·24
Summary convictions for robberies - -	126	11	65	41	243	0·05	3,440	0·88
Total of summary convictions - - -	2,685	900	997	546	5,328	1·07	13,849	3·55
Total of *females* taken into custody - -	1,842	433	387	299	2,961	0·6	6,274	1·6
Young persons taken into custody on charges of felony - - -	under 20 838	under 20 175	under 20 64	under 19 121	1,098	0·22	under 19 2,342	0·6

"The very striking results appearing from the above statement are, that, comparing Liverpool with the *four* manufacturing towns *collectively*, and bearing in mind that its population is *one fifth less*, —

1. Its committals for trial are - - equal.
2. Its numbers taken into custody - $2\frac{1}{2}$ times greater.
3. Its females taken into custody - nearly 3 times greater.
4. Its juveniles charged with felony - nearly 3 times greater.
5. Its summary convictions for all offences $3\frac{1}{2}$ times greater.
6. Its summary convictions for *robberies* - *more than* 17 *times greater!*"

* "If I have succeeded in removing from the manufacturing population of Lancashire the charge of excessive criminality, it has been at the expense of our great

* The Rev. J. Clay's Report on the Preston Gaol for 1849.

sea-port; and it is right that, having gone so far, I should proceed yet further, and shortly state the causes which have given to Liverpool its lamentable pre-eminence. It is scarcely necessary to say, that in every large sea-port, there exists a dissolute class, maintaining itself by preying on careless and drunken seamen, and by pilfering property lying exposed on the landing places. But this is not all, as affects Liverpool. It is her peculiar misfortune, that her harbour is too easily gained by a race of persons who, whatever may have been their habits at home, no sooner reach Liverpool, than such of them as are in a destitute state, either give way to the temptation to plunder round the docks, or become an oppressive and demoralising burden to the town. I am indebted to Mr. Rushton for much information on this subject, and for carefully prepared statistics, which should be taken into account, whenever the crime of Lancashire or Liverpool is adverted to. The Irish in Liverpool are estimated by Mr. Rushton at *one-fourth* of the entire population; *but they supply more than* ONE HALF *the number of criminals!* I have now before me a return, from which it appears, that in the eleven months ending 30th November last, 6194 persons were brought before the magistrates of Liverpool, charged with felony,—of whom 1489 were natives of Liverpool, 946 were from other parts of England, 338 from Scotland, Wales, and the Isle of Man, while 3266 *were natives of Ireland!* It also appears from the return, that, as regards the English, females are to the males in the proportion of 1 to 2; but as regards the Irish, they are in the proportion of 14 to 17. This

constant influx of Irish misery and crime it is almost impossible to restrain. The open docks of Liverpool, where the quays are covered with costly articles of commerce, swarm with thieves, whose cunning and rapacity are in continual action. When apprehended, the process of committal to assizes or sessions would not promote the ends of justice, and it becomes an unavoidable necessity that crimes which, in other places, would be punished by long terms of imprisonment, are punished, here, by repeated summary convictions, under the powers of various local acts of parliament; and this must be, or the criminal would go without punishment altogether. For instance, a sailor is the necessary witness; his ship is going to sea; you cannot detain him, and therefore you enforce your summary powers. This happens in hundreds of cases in Liverpool.'* Thus, again, in cases of robbery from the person by prostitutes, or by *pickpockets*, seamen being the injured parties, it is necessary to dispose of the cases at once. According to the report of the Liverpool police, robberies from the person by 67 male and 20 female pickpockets, and 198 robberies from the person by prostitutes, were *summarily* punished in 1848.

"It is obvious from all this, that Liverpool, from its unfortunate proximity to Ireland, is undergoing an aggravation of moral and social evils of the severest character, — even to the extent of clogging and embarrassing the free action with which justice should deal with delinquents. From such evils North Lancashire enjoys an almost complete immunity. At the Preston

* Mr. Rushton.

sessions, known pickpockets seldom appear, and indictments against 'unfortunate women' for robberies from the person, are comparatively rare; but persons of either class, when convicted—former convictions being proved—have almost always been sentenced to transportation." *

From the above facts and extracts it is clear that, in estimating the criminality of the *manufacturing* districts, we ought to omit the amount of crime committed in Liverpool; first, because it is not a *manufacturing* town; and, secondly, because the majority of its criminals are not natives, or even permanent inhabitants of the town.

But, if we reckon the criminality of Liverpool as part of the criminality of the manufacturing districts of Lancashire, what is the result even then? Mr. Redgrave, in his valuable tables for 1848, shows † that, even *without* excluding Liverpool, Lancashire, *as a whole*, stands ELEVENTH on the list of counties arranged in the order of their criminality, and that there are TEN *agricultural* counties, where the proportion of criminals to population is greater than in the whole of Lancashire, including Liverpool! Mr. Clay exhibits this fact very clearly in the following table, extracted from his very able report for 1849:—

* Such offences as those now adverted to are never disposed of *summarily* in North Lancashire.

† See Mr. Clay's Report for 1849.

Order in which the Ten Counties would stand, supposing Criminality proportioned to *Density* of Population.		Order in which the Ten Counties would stand, supposing Crime to depend on the Excess of Manufacturing over Agricultural Population.		Actual Order, in Ratio of Criminals to Population. (1848.)	
Counties.	Inhabitants to 100 Acres.	Counties.	Persons in Manufactures to 1 in Agriculture.	Counties.	Criminals to Population.
1. Lancaster	147·5	Lancaster	9·3	Warwick -	1 to 358
2. Surrey -	120·	Surrey -	4·	Worcester -	„ 364
3. Warwick	70·	Chester -	3·8	Chester -	„ 411
4. Chester -	59·	Warwick -	3·5	Hereford -	„ 428
5. Gloucester	53·6	Gloucester -	2·1	Rutland -	„ 439
6. Worcester	50·4	Worcester -	1·6	Gloucester -	„ 443
7. Hertford	39·	Hertford -	1·	Berks -	„ 477
8. Berks -	33·5	Berks -	0·8	Hertford -	„ 480
9. Rutland -	22·3	Hereford -	0·7	Surrey -	„ 504
10. Hereford	20·6	Rutland -	0·6	Lancaster -	„ 509

But if we consider the populous manufacturing districts of North Lancashire *separately*, without considering the southern division of Lancashire, with its great sea-port, Liverpool, we shall arrive at still more remarkable results, showing how much more demoralised many of our rural districts are than the crowded cities of the north.

It appears, as shown by Mr. Clay, that there are 34 *counties whose proportion of crime to population is greater than that of North Lancashire;* that in regard to *juvenile* crime, *North Lancashire is very greatly surpassed by* 22 *counties,* most of which are agricultural; and that in *female* criminality *it is surpassed by* 17 *counties,* almost all of which are also agricultural!

Mr. Clay says, in Kent the ratio of criminals to the population is as 1 to 668; in Suffolk the ratio is greater than in Kent, being 1 to 647; while in North Lancashire it is only 1 to 999! In Suffolk, too, the extent of depravity among the female sex is in a greater ratio than in North Lancashire. In the former, it is 1 to 4,633, while in the latter it is only 1 to 5,441! "And as to juvenile offenders — taking the data from Captain Williams's 12th Report — *those of Suffolk are* THRICE *as numerous as those of North Lancashire!!*"

The following table shows the aggregate criminality for each of the English counties in the five years ending 1847; the increase or decrease which has taken place between those periods; and the *order* in the criminality of the counties — as evinced in 1841 and 1847; those counties being placed *first* in order, which furnish the greatest number of criminals in proportion to their population. It is extracted from Mr. Clay's report for 1848.

Counties: in the Order of their Criminality (1847).	Population in 1841.	Estimated Population in 1847.*	Criminals in 1847.	Aggregate of Criminals in the Five Years ending		Per-centage of Increase or Decrease in the Quinquennial Periods.		Consecutive Order in Criminality as compared to Population.	
				1842.	1847.	Incr.	Decr.	1847.	1841.
Middlesex - -	1,576,636	1,728,700	5175	18,394	22,543	22·5	- -	1	7
Worcester - -	233,336	247,800	620	2,689	3,000	11·6	- -	2	5
Gloucester -	431,383	460,700	1092	5,489	5,162	- -	5·9	3	1
Warwick - -	401,715	448,300	998	4,712	4,505	- -	4·4	4	4
South Lancashire, including Liverpool - -	1,264,383	1,471,740	3011	14,569	13,698	- -	6·0	5	3
Surrey - -	582,678	652,000	1315	4,842	5,023	3·7	- -	6	27
Chester - -	395,660	439,200	871	4,491	4,121	- -	8·2	7	6
Bucks - -	155,983	160,400	315	1,298	1,477	13·8	- -	8	18
Berks - -	161,147	171,600	335	1,600	1,460	- -	8·8	9	16
Southampton -	355,004	382,300	737	3,388	3,157	- -	6·8	10	15
Wilts - -	258,733	270,600	502	2,351	2,213	- -	5·9	11	14
Hereford - -	113,878	115,400	212	1,145	1,064	- -	7·1	12	10
Rutland - -	21,302	22,600	41	97	157	61·9	- -	13	40
Oxford - -	161,643	167,600	299	1,611	1,460	- -	9·4	14	13
Stafford - -	510,504	584,500	1028	5,165	4,656	- -	9·8	15	11
Norfolk - -	412,664	426,700	751	3,487	3,683	5·6	- -	16	25
Hertford - -	157,207	166,300	291	1,561	1,314	- -	15·8	17	12
Monmouth -	134,355	163,800	282	1,385	1,234	- -	10·9	18	2
Devon - -	533,460	558,600	949	3,356	3,845	14·6	- -	19	31
Somerset - -	435,982	456,500	774	4,968	4,354	- -	12·3	20	8
Essex - -	344,979	362,900	603	3,266	3,065	- -	6·2	21	17
Dorset - -	175,043	185,300	307	1,348	1,205	- -	10·6	22	24
Sussex - -	299,753	317,800	522	2,665	2,301	- -	13·6	23	19
Suffolk - -	315,073	327,100	505	2,525	2,598	2·9	- -	24	28
Bedford - -	107,936	116,300	178	837	908	8·5	- -	25	20
Kent - -	548,337	594,900	889	5,000	4,423	- -	11·5	26	21
Leicester - -	215,867	228,200	335	2,201	2,011	- -	8·6	27	9
Huntingdon -	58,549	62,000	89	363	405	11·6	- -	28	33
Cambridge -	164,459	177,800	255	1,157	1,324	14·4	- -	29	29
Nottingham -	249,910	266,300	343	1,623	1,597	- -	1·6	30	30
Lincoln - -	362,602	393,400	506	2,036	2,419	18·8	- -	31	35
Northampton -	199,228	212,300	243	1,496	1,379	- -	7·8	32	23
Salop - -	239,048	249,300	267	1,854	1,785	- -	3·7	33	22
York - -	1,591,480	1,745,600	1794	9,305	8,766	- -	5·8	34	32
N. Lancashire -	402,672	444,550	445	2,907	2,252	- -	22·6	35	26
Cornwall - -	341,279	368,600	341	1,469	1,463	- -	0·4	36	37
Durham - -	324,284	378,100	279	1,022	1,407	37·7	- -	37	39
Derby - -	272,217	296,200	214	1,347	1,278	- -	5·1	38	34
Northumberland	250,278	268,600	189	965	1,131	17·2	- -	39	36
Cumberland -	178,038	183,200	120	698	632	- -	9·4	40	38
Westmoreland -	56,454	57,300	33	183	221	20·8	- -	41	41

* "The estimated population in 1847 is only a rough approximation to the probable truth. It has been derived from the known increase of the respective counties in the ten years between 1831 and 1841."

This table well deserves study. It shows, that the proportional amount of crime to population, calculated in two years, 1841 and 1847, was greater, in both years, in almost all the *agricultural* counties of England, than it was in the *manufacturing* and mining districts of North Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Northumberland, and Durham. It also shows, how fearfully the amount of crime is increasing in the agricultural districts of Westmoreland, Lincoln, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Leicestershire, Rutland, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Worcestershire, and Devonshire; whilst, in almost all the mining and manufacturing districts—*even reckoning South Lancashire, with its demoralised sea-port, Liverpool*—the amount of crime has been, during the same period, actually decreasing!

With what terrible significance do these statistics plead the cause of the poor of our rural districts! Notwithstanding, that a town life *necessarily* presents so many more opportunities for, and temptations to, vice than a rural life; notwithstanding, that the associations of the latter are naturally so much purer and so much more moral than those of the former; notwithstanding, the wonderfully crowded state of the great manufacturing cities of Lancashire; notwithstanding, the constant influx of Irish, sailors, vagrants, beggars, and starving natives of the agricultural districts of England and Wales; and notwithstanding, the miserable state of most of the primary schools of those districts, and the great ignorance of the majority of the inhabitants; still, in face of all these, and other equally significant facts, the criminality of the *manufacturing* districts of Lancashire

is LESS in proportion to the population, than that of most of the rural districts of England and Wales!

Does not this show, that the peasants of England must be subjected to a singularly demoralising system, to produce so strange, so almost incredible, a result?

But let us consider the condition of the juvenile poor of our towns. The chief source and cause of the criminality of the poorer classes of our towns, is the neglected and frightfully wretched condition of a great part of their juvenile population. The children are not obliged by law to go to any school. The parents are often too vicious, or too ignorant, or too poor to care to send them, if not compelled and *enabled* to do so; and so a great part of the children are left in the streets to be educated and brought up in crime. This will always be the case, while the law does not at the same time oblige and enable poor, vicious, and ignorant parents to send their children to school. But in our country, the evil is worse than it otherwise would be, because we have not a sufficient number of schools in our towns, and because the greatest part of the schools we have, are so wretchedly insufficient in character.

The following account is quoted almost verbatim, but somewhat abridged, from Lord Ashley's admirable speech on juvenile destitution, delivered in the House of Commons on the 6th of June, 1848, clearly showing the awfully wretched condition of a great part of the children of London. But although this singular account refers to London alone, it does, in reality, give a very correct picture of the condition of a great part of the children of all the larger towns of England.

In the towns of Lancashire, and in all the larger of the manufacturing and provincial towns, the life and character of an equal proportion of the whole number of the children is precisely similar to that of the juvenile population of the back streets of London.

Any one may convince himself of the truth of Lord Ashley's account, and may learn how a great part of the juvenile population of every one of our larger towns is being bred in filth, immorality, and degradation, if he will only take the trouble to walk into the back streets, and observe what is going on around him. He will there see one of the principal nurseries of our criminals and paupers, and one of the numerous overwhelming proofs of the insane folly of supposing, that the unaided, voluntary efforts of charitable individuals will ever be able to reclaim and civilise the rapidly increasing masses of our juvenile poor.

Careful inquiries by Lord Ashley, and by the excellent men connected with that admirable society, the City Mission, have shown, that in the midst of London, there is a large and continually increasing number of lawless persons, forming a separate class, having pursuits, interests, manners, and customs of their own, and that the filthy, deserted, roaming, and lawless children, who may be called the source of 19-20ths of the crime, which desolates the metropolis, are not fewer in number than THIRTY THOUSAND!

These 30,000 are quite independent of the number of mere pauper children, who crowd the streets of London, and who never enter a school: but of these latter nothing will be said here.

Now, what are the pursuits, the dwelling-houses, and the habits of these poor wretches? Of 1,600, who were examined; 162 confessed, that they had been in prison, not merely once, or even twice, but some of them several times; 116 had ran away from their homes; 170 slept in the "lodging houses;" 253 had lived altogether by beggary; 216 had neither shoes nor stockings; 280 had no hat or cap, or covering for the head; 101 had no linen; 249 had never slept in a bed; many had no recollection of ever having been in a bed; 68 were the children of convicts.

In 1847, it was found that of 4,000 examined, 400 confessed that they had been in prison, 660 lived by beggary, 178 were the children of convicts, and 800 had lost one or both their parents. Now, what was the employment of these people? They might be classed as street-sweepers; vendors of lucifer matches, oranges, cigars, tapes, and ballads; they held horses, ran errands, jobbed for "dealers in marine stores," that being the euphonious term for receivers of stolen goods, — an influential race in the metropolis, but for whose agency, a very large proportion of juvenile crime would be extinguished. It might be asked, how did the large number who never slept in bed pass the night? In all manner of places: under dry arches of bridges and viaducts, under porticoes, sheds, carts in out-houses, saw-pits, or staircases, or in the open air, and some in lodging-houses. Curious, indeed, was their mode of life. One boy, during the inclement period of 1847, passed the greater part of his nights in the large iron roller in the Regent's Park. He climbed over the rail-

ings, and crept to the roller, where he lay in comparative security.

Lord Ashley says, "many of them were living in the dry arches of houses not finished, inaccessible except by an aperture, only large enough to admit the body of a man. When a lantern was thrust in, six or eight, ten or twelve people might be found lying together. Of those, whom we found thus lodged, we invited a great number to come the following day, and there an examination was instituted. The number examined was 33. Their ages varied from 12 to 18, and some were younger. 24 had no parents, 6 had one, 3 had step-mothers, 20 had no shirts, 9 no shoes, 12 had been once in prison, 3 twice, 3 four times, 1 eight times, and 1 (only 14 years old) twelve times. The physical condition of these children was exceedingly bad; they were a prey to vermin, they were troubled with itch, they were begrimed with dirt, not a few were suffering from sickness, and two or three days afterwards several died from disease and the effects of starvation. I privately examined eight or ten. I was anxious to obtain from them the truth. I examined them separately, taking them into a room alone. I said, 'I am going to ask you a variety of questions, to which I trust you will give me true answers, and I will undertake to answer any question you may put.' They thought that a fair bargain. I put to several of them the question, 'How often have you slept in a bed during the last three years?' One said, perhaps twelve times, another three times, another could not remember that he ever had. I asked them, how they passed the night in winter. They said, 'We lie eight or ten

together, to keep ourselves warm.' I entered on the subject of their employments and modes of living. They fairly confessed, they had no means of subsistence but begging and stealing. The only way of earning a penny in a legitimate way was by picking up old bones. But they fairly acknowledged for themselves and others scattered over the town, with whom they professed themselves acquainted, that they had not and could not have any other means of subsistence, than by begging and stealing. A large proportion of these young persons were at a most dangerous age for society. I met one very remarkable instance of a boy, past 17. I was struck at discovering, that the boy knew the French language, and I asked an account of his life. He said, he had been in France at the time of the Revolution, and had fought at the barricades. He and his mother had gone to Paris some four or five years ago. He there got into some employment, but, as the political atmosphere became warm, he yielded to its influence, and being enticed by French boys, his companions, he joined in the general warfare, fought at the barricades, was taken prisoner, tried, and sentenced to punishment. There were hundreds and thousands of others, as capable of being employed for the worst purposes, as the Garde Mobile of Paris. And therefore for the peace of society, I would direct the attention of the House to the subject. What was the moral condition of those persons? A large proportion of them, (it was no fault of theirs,) did not recognise the distinctive rights of *meum* and *tuum*. Property appeared to them to be only the aggregate of plunder. They held that everything

which was possessed, was common stock; that he who got most was the cleverest fellow, and that every one had a right to abstract from that stock, what he could by his own ingenuity. Was it matter of surprise, that they entertained those notions, which were instilled into their minds, from the time they were able to creep on all fours, — that not only did they disregard all the rights of property, but gloried in doing so, unless they thought the avowal would bring them within the grasp of the law. To illustrate their low state of morality, and to show how utterly shameless they were, in speaking on these subjects, I would mention, what had passed at a ragged school, to which fourteen or fifteen boys, having presented themselves on a Sunday evening, were admitted as they came. They sat down, and the lesson proceeded. The clock struck eight. They all rose with the exception of one little boy. The master took him by the arm and said, 'You must remain; the lesson is not over.' The reply was, 'We must go to business.' The master inquired what business? 'We must all go to catch them, as they come out of the chapels.' It was necessary for them, according to the remark of this boy, to go at a certain time in pursuit of their calling. They had no remorse or shame, in making the avowal; because they believed, that there were no other means of saving themselves from starvation. I recollect a very graphic remark, made by one of those children in perfect simplicity, but which yet showed the horrors of their position. The master had been pointing out to him the terrors of punishment in after-life. The remark of the boy was, 'That may

be so, but I don't think it can be any worse than this world has been to me.' Such was the condition of hundreds and thousands!"

Great numbers of these wretched beings live in the "*lodging-houses.*" These horrible dens will be described more fully hereafter; but I shall quote Lord Ashley's account of them here, in order to show, where and how a great part of the juvenile population of our towns are lodged and *educated.* Until the poor children are rescued from these hells, how can we hope to raise them from their present degraded condition? But how can we rescue them, unless the municipalities interfere, and at their own expense clothe and send all the poor children of their towns to good and religious schools, as they do in Germany and Switzerland? But listen to Lord Ashley's description given in his own words:—

"I will read a description of the lodging-houses. Many of them, which I have seen, were abominable; but the statement, I will lay before the House, was given on the authority of a city missionary, who had been appointed to inspect and report on the subject. It is not an exaggerated description of those places, where hundreds and thousands of the human race are congregated. The city missionary, speaking of a lodging-house, and referring to the 'parlour,'—for there were many euphonious terms to be applied,—said,—

"The parlour measures 18 feet by 10. Beds are arranged on each side of it, composed of straw, rags, and shavings. Here are 27 male and female adults, and 31 children, with several dogs; in all, 58 human beings, in a contracted den, from which

light and air are systematically excluded. It is impossible,' he says, 'to convey a just idea of their state, — the quantities of vermin are amazing! I have entered a room, and in a few minutes, I have felt them dropping on my hat from the ceiling like peas.' 'They may be gathered by handfuls,' observed one of the inmates. 'I could fill a pail in a few minutes. I have been so tormented with the itch, that on two occasions I filled my pockets with stones, and waited till a policeman came up, and then broke a lamp, that I might be sent to prison, and there be cleansed, as is required before new comers are admitted.' 'Ah!' said another, standing by, 'you can get a comfortable snooze and scrub there!'

"A vast number of boys of tender years resort to these houses. I wish to show, what a variety of circumstances stand in the way of their moral or physical improvement. The existence of these houses is one of those circumstances. I have given a sample of the houses these children are compelled to inhabit. It would be found true on inquiry, *not only of the metropolis, but of the smaller as well as of the great towns throughout the country, that seven-tenths of the crime perpetrated in the different localities are concocted by the society, which meet in those lodging-houses.* The Warwick magistrates say, — and it is applicable to London, — 'such houses are the general receptacle of offenders. Here the common vagrants assemble in great numbers at nightfall, and, making the lodging-houses the common centre, traverse their several beats.' 'I have no hesitation,' says a public officer, 'in declaring my belief,

that the principal robberies have been concocted in vagrant lodging-houses, and rendered effectual through the agency of the keepers.' That is not all. When a boy leaves the lodging-house, he is exposed to influences quite as deleterious to his moral and physical well-being. I shall read a description of a court, which I have witnessed myself. It is in such places that a large mass of the community dwell. In one of those courts there are three privies to 300 people; in another, two to 200 people. Here is a statement made by a medical man: — 'In a place, where these public privies exist, scenes of the most shocking character are of daily occurrence. It will scarcely be believed, that these public privies often stand *opposite* the doors of the houses: modesty and decency are therefore altogether impossible.' But, in a private house, is the boy exposed to better influences than in the lodging-house? Very often several families are found in one room. It is a fortunate family which has one room for itself. Everything is transacted in that room. Cleanliness is impossible; it is a scene of filth, misery, and vice. The House will permit me to give a description of a locality, which affords a fair sample of the class; for those children are a peculiar race, to be found in almost all instances, in the most filthy, destitute, unknown parts of the metropolis — places seldom trodden by persons of decent habits. These courts and alleys are in the immediate neighbourhood of uncovered sewers, of gutters full of putrified matter, nightmen's yards, and privies, the soil of which is openly exposed, and never or seldom removed. It is

impossible to convey an idea of the poisonous condition, in which these places remain during winter and summer, in dry weather and wet, from the masses of putrifying matter which are allowed to accumulate. These statements are by no means exaggerations. I would not assert what I do, if I did not do so on my own personal knowledge, having gone over many parts of those districts, and having devoted a certain portion of my time to the prosecution of investigations on the subject, when, in 1846, I lost my seat in Parliament, being curious to find my way in those parts of the metropolis, which had hitherto been unexplored. In company with a medical man and a city missionary, I ventured to go over many of those places, and I am able to say, that the description, I have now given, is below the truth. I shall next advert to the physical condition of the children. They are thus described in a report by Dr. Aldis: —

"'They are emaciated, pale, and thin, and in a low condition. They complain of sinking, depression of the strength, loss of spirits, loss of appetite accompanied by pains in different parts of the body, with disturbed sleep.' 'The depressed and low condition of health, in which these people are always found, induces habits of intemperance, unfortunately so common among them.' 'The children,' says another, 'are diminutive, pale, squalid, sickly, irritable; I rarely saw a child in a really healthy state.'

"The report from one school says: —

"'The boys have been sent out daily by drunken parents to beg and steal, being often cruelly treated if

unsuccessful; others are employed in vending and assisting in the manufacture of base coin. . . . . Of 74 admitted this year between 8 and 14, 16 are known thieves, 27 are beggars and hawkers.' There is a most remarkable statement made on the authority of a city missionary in a district in the east of London. His house was the open resort of all, who chose to come to pay him a visit and ask his advice. From January to December he received from these children 2,343 visits, averaging 334 per month. Of these, under 10 years of age, there were 2 per cent.; under 12, 9 per cent.; above 12 and under 15, 44 per cent.; above 15 and under 18, 36 per cent.; above 18 and under 22, 8 per cent. Of these, 39 per cent. voluntarily acknowledged that they had been in prison; 11 per cent. had been in once; 4 per cent., *twice;* 5 per cent., *thrice;* 2 per cent. *four* times; 1 per cent., *six* times; 3 per cent., *seven* times; 1 per cent., *eight* times; 2 per cent., *ten* times; and there were 10 per cent. *uncertain as to the number of times!* This state of matters arises in a great measure, either from desertion, or from the bad example of parents. In many instances, it is good for the children that they are deserted; in many instances, it is good that they have no parents. But in many instances, they are misled by the bad example of their parents — in many instances, tempted by necessity. There are hundreds and thousands in this great city who, from their earliest years, have never obtained, what they do obtain, except by begging, or by stealing, or by some avocation of a questionable kind. Children are encouraged by their parents in that course of life. Even in those instances,

where parents do not bring their children up to steal, they take very good care, when property is brought in of a suspicious character, to ask no questions, and to bestow praise for adroitness in such transactions. But a very great deal of the evil, which surrounds the parents, arises from the sanitary condition, in which they are left. The same causes, which operate on the parents, operate on the children; and hundreds are found utterly reckless of decency, of comfort, of regard for the spiritual or temporal welfare of their children — reckless even of almost life itself."

What are the consequences of this terrible state of things? Hear what Lord Ashley says: —

"I wish to show the condition of the metropolis; and for that purpose, will state the number taken into custody by the metropolitan police in 1847, as contrasted with the number taken into custody in 1848. In 1847, 41,479 males were taken into custody; OF WHOM 8,405 WERE UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE, 3,228 BETWEEN 10 AND 15, AND 306 UNDER 10. In 1848, 42,933 males were taken into custody; OF WHOM 8,776 WERE UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE, 3,604 BETWEEN 10 AND 15, AND 312 UNDER 10. The total increase in 1848 of males taken into custody was 1,454, of whom one half, was under 20 years of age. But of those, who had been taken into custody under 10 years of age — the class which chiefly attended school — there had been an increase of only six. THE WHOLE NUMBER OF MALES TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BETWEEN 10 AND 20, A PERIOD OF 10 YEARS, WAS 12,692; between 25 and 50, a period of 25 years, 18,591; only one-third more. But looking at the number of those tried and convicted, there ap-

pears a great disproportion. BETWEEN 10 AND 20 THE MALES TRIED AND CONVICTED WERE 1,237, *whereas the males tried and convicted between* 25 *and* 50 *were only* 1,059. The same rule prevails in Manchester, to which I refer as a very large town, the returns being characterised by the same accuracy as those for the metropolis. There were taken into custody in Manchester 1,037 *males between* 10 *and* 20, *and* 2,157 *between* 25 *and* 50. But there were tried and convicted 165 between 10 and 20, 193 between 25 and 50. *These returns show the preponderating amount of* JUVENILE *delinquency.* They show also the possibility of applying the preventive system. The crimes are perpetrated, at a period of life, when the parties are open to the best influences, and are most capable of receiving permanent impressions. It is also clear that the seeds of crime are sown in early life, and would not, if they were then rooted out, grow up into rank maturity. Being anxious to ascertain the opinions of persons best acquainted with the subject, I circulated among persons having the charge of ragged schools, missionaries, and others, the question, 'Do many adult males become criminals for the first time after 20 years of age?' From 43 committees I received the answer, 'Very few.' One said, 'A small proportion, and these chiefly through drunkenness, and want of employment. In London, many country people, and the Irish, become criminals after 20 years of age, and those chiefly from the above-mentioned causes.' Another said, 'I should say not one in fifty.' Another, 'I believe that among the lowest classes of society, hardly any become criminal for the first time after 20 years of age.' That large

class roaming over the streets of London, of habits, manners, feelings, and pursuits totally unlike anything, with which people are acquainted in ordinary life, forms a seed-plot for three-fourths of the crime, which prevails in this metropolis; *and what I say of the metropolis, I say of every great city in the empire.*

"The records of the tribunals and of the police courts, show only, what are the numbers of those, whom the police are adroit and quick enough to apprehend. But there is a vast amount of unseen crime; there are breaches of the public peace, which are undetected; there is a great deal of that training, which formed those children to a character dangerous to society. I believe the majority of criminals, in and about London, arises out of that class. If you greatly improve, or even extinguish that class as such, I do not mean to say, that crime will be removed; but the amount will be considerably abated, because I have no doubt, the greater part of the crime perpetrated within this metropolis and the neighbourhood, is perpetrated by individuals, who are formed and trained in the class, to which I have alluded. A city missionary wrote to me, that he looked on several parts of his district, as breeding places for prisons. It is the concurring testimony of those persons, who are best acquainted with the class in question, that from that class, the major part of the crimes, which are perpetrated, take their rise. The House will recollect, how I have described the children, their necessities, moral and physical, the manner in which they are trained, the state in which they remain, believing that they have a right to prey on the whole world,

having no knowledge of right and wrong, except that which arises in some way or other out of their fears. I have now to call your attention to the temptations to which these children were exposed. I beg you to recollect that we have in this city a mass of THIRTY THOUSAND children, such as I have described, in a state of great necessity, living entirely by their wits, and not knowing from one hour to another whether they will obtain anything for their sustenance during the day. I ask the House, then, just to look at the temptations to which these children are exposed—temptations which are often commented on in the police court—from the want of care on the part of owners of property. I find that, of the felonies, which have been perpetrated last year, within the jurisdiction of the metropolitan police, there were 814 cases of stealing tools, &c., from unfinished houses, where they had been left by workmen, without any care or supervision whatever; that the number of cases of stealing from carts and carriages, which have been left without any one to look after them, is 298; that the number of cases of theft from houses, in consequence of the doors being left open by the most wanton neglect on the part of servants and masters, is 2,208; and that the number of cases of theft of goods exposed for sale at shop-doors—and honourable gentlemen will recollect, how freely goods of all descriptions are so exposed, especially of all kinds of provisions, calculated to tempt the appetite of poor children—of these cases the number is 2,299. Now, every one of these felonies has increased in number, with the exception, — and this is a very curious fact, — with

the exception of felonies of linen exposed to dry. These have considerably abated; and I do not hesitate to assert, that this has arisen, from the establishment of public baths and washhouses; which enable poor people to wash and dry their clothes by a short and speedy process, and keep them under proper care and supervision. Now, I wish to draw the attention of the House to the result of this system of things, of the total neglect and want of care, in which these children are left, because I am pressing upon you, the necessity of doing something to extricate them from their hopeless condition. I therefore wish to show the House, that the children are of that extraordinary description that they cannot be dealt with by means of ordinary agency, that they are utterly dissimilar in their habits from other children, and that they are in nothing more remarkable than in their insubordination. I cannot give a better proof of this than by relating the kind of scenes which take place whenever a school is opened in a new locality. I have heard teachers who have undertaken to open such schools as a sort of speculation — I do not mean a money speculation, but a kind of experiment — I have heard them describe the roaring and whistling with which their ears have been assailed, and the actual onslaughts they have had to resist, on first opening these schools. There is a school over the water well known to my honourable friend the member for Kinsale (Mr. Hawes), whom I have frequently met there, to which, when it was first opened, in 1846, there came twenty-four boys, all with tobacco-pipes, who kept possession of the school, and would neither learn nor dislodge; and,

tion being made to the numbers of its vicious citizens. If it is the duty of the state to promote virtue and to repress vice, it surely is its duty to take care, that no child is educated from its earliest years in *immorality*. But every child whose mind is never cultivated, who is left every hour of every day among demoralised companions, who is never brought into connection with good and intelligent beings, and whose younger years are embittered by toil and constant association with vice, is, it would seem, enjoying a perfect system of education in *immorality*. And yet, how many such instances must there always be, in every country, where the state only punishes vice when committed, and does not interfere at an earlier period for its prevention.

There is no law in France similar to those of Germany, by which a parent is obliged either to send his children to school, or to educate them at home. In the agricultural departments of France, where the children can be profitably employed in the field at an early age, a child does not enjoy instruction for so many years; and therefore does not receive, in general, so complete an education as the German children.

In the manufacturing districts of France this evil is, in some degree, obviated, by a law, which prevents any child being employed in manufacturing operations, until he has attained the age of nine years. But even this is much too early a period, at which to remove a child from training, and to introduce him to the all-engrossing and severe labour of his future life. It must be but too evident, that his character cannot be nearly formed at so early an age, and that hs is but too

likely to forget all that he has learned at school, and to lose all the influence of his education, by a constant connection with low-minded and degraded associates.

But although France has not yet imitated the German and Swiss States in this most important feature of their educational systems, she has followed their examples in several others of almost equal significance, as will be seen from the following sketch of the French system:—

Each department of France is subdivided into arrondissements, and each arrondissement into communes or parishes. Each commune IS OBLIGED by law, either alone, or in conjunction with one or more neighbouring communes, to support *at least one* elementary primary school. Where the population is large enough to require more than one school, it is *invited* to establish another. If it neglects this duty, the government is empowered to interfere. The means of instruction are thus placed within the reach of every parent throughout the kingdom of France. If the government had left it to each commune to please itself, whether it would establish schools or not, the result would have been similar to the one, which is still disgracing us. Many of the communes would never have put themselves to the expense of erecting schools, and supporting teachers.

I shall explain how the communal organisation is arranged, and how the difficulties arising from religious differences have been overcome:—

1st. In communes, in which all the inhabitants belong to the *same* religious sect.

In each of these cases, a committee is formed, composed of the mayor, president, *curé* or religious minister, and one or two of the inhabitants of the commune, who are nominated by the committee of the arrondissement, of which I shall speak presently. The latter members of the committee are elected for three years, and are then re-eligible.

2ndly, In communes in which there are *several* of the religious sects, which are recognised by the state (*i. e.* Romanists, Protestants, and Jews).

In each of these cases, the inhabitants may please themselves, whether they will establish separate or mixed schools, and whether they will have a separate committee for each school or one central committee for them all; but they are *obliged* by law to adopt one of these courses.

If one central committee is constituted for all the schools of the commune, it is formed of the mayor, the president, a religious minister of each of the different sects of the commune, and two or three inhabitants selected by the committee of the arrondissement.

The French law in this respect agrees with the different German systems. It obliges each parish or commune to provide the means of education, but it leaves it to the inhabitants of each parish to determine, whether they will do this in concert or not.

If a mixed school is established, and a teacher professing the same religion as the majority of the inhabitants of the commune is appointed to instruct, and direct its classes, the parents who differ with the teacher in religious belief are at liberty, if they feel so disposed,

to remove their children from the classes during the time in which religious instruction is given.

The chief towns of each department and every commune not being a chief town of a department, but whose population exceeds 6000, are also required to support a *superior* primary school for the education of poor children, who have finished their course of instruction in the *elementary* schools, and whose parents wish to keep them at school, and give them a better education than that afforded by the primary schools.

The law requires that in every elementary school in France, instruction shall be given in —

1. Religion;
2. Morality;
3. Reading;
4. Writing;
5. Arithmetic;
6. The French Language;
7. The legal System of Weights and Measures;
8. Geography (particularly of France);
9. History (particularly of France);
10. Linear Drawing; and
11. Singing.

The teachers are required to pay especial attention to the *religious* education of the children. The law requires, that each of the classes shall be commenced and terminated by a short prayer that the scholars shall learn by heart a few verses of the Bible every day, and that every Saturday, the children shall learn by heart the Gospel for the next Sunday.

Every elementary school is divided into *three* divi-

sions, in which the pupils are placed, according to the progress they make in their studies.

The first generally comprehends children of from six to eight years of age, and their education consists of religious lessons, reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic.

The second generally comprehends children of from eight to ten years of age, and their education consists of the study of the Holy Scriptures, a continuation of their former exercises in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and instruction in the French grammar.

The third generally comprehends children of ten years of age and upwards, and their education comprises, the study of the Christian doctrines, a continuation of their former exercises in reading, writing, arithmetic, and French grammar, and instruction in the elements of geography and history, particularly of the geography and history of France, and in music and linear drawing.

No books are allowed to be used in these schools, but such as are sanctioned by Government; but the teachers are permitted to follow the method of instruction, which they themselves think preferable. Every teacher of a primary school is required at the end of each month, to furnish the local committee with an account of the state and progress of instruction in his school, during the past month. Each school is subjected to an examination twice a year, in the presence of the members of the local committee, and of one member of the committee of the arrondissement; and at the end of these examinations, a list is made out of the names of all the pupils in order of merit, and is fixed

upon the walls of the school, where it remains until the next examination. "This stimulates the efforts of both teacher and pupils, as they feel that the eyes of their district are upon them, watching their progress."

There are, as I have said, two local committees:—one of the arrondissement, and one of the commune.

The former is specially charged with the general *surveillance* and encouragement of primary education throughout the arrondissement. It consists of the mayor of the chief town in the arrondissement, the *juge de paix*, the *curé*, a minister from each of the recognised sects in the arrondissement, a professor, *a primary schoolmaster*, three members of the council, of the arrondissement, and those members of the council general of the department, who live within the arrondissement.

The committee of the commune consists, of the mayor, the president, the *curé* or pastor, and one or two of the most influential inhabitants of the commune.

These committees meet at least once a month. The communal or parochial committee inspects the condition and progress of the schools in its district, and reports to the committee of the arrondissement. This latter committee has the right of examining all the schools of the arrondissement. Some one of its members is generally present at each local examination, and it reports to the Minister of Public Instruction on the state and progress of the education of its district.

But besides this local inspection, which serves so well to stimulate and encourage the efforts of both the teachers and the resident gentry of the different parishes, and to inform the Minister of Public Instruction of

the true wants of different localities; there is another great system of general inspection directed by the Minister of Public Instruction, which deserves particular attention. By an ordinance of February 1835, it was decreed, that an inspector should be appointed for every department in France, and that these principal inspectors should be each of them assisted by one or two sub-inspectors, according as the urgency of the case might require. All the travelling expenses of all these inspectors are defrayed out of an annual sum granted for that purpose; the residue of which, when it is not entirely expended, is distributed among those who have laboured most assiduously in the service of the state.

The inspectors are required, several times a year, to visit and inspect each of the primary schools of their several districts, without giving the teachers notice beforehand, and to send in a report to the Minister of Public Instruction.

1st. Upon the state of each school-house and its classes;

2nd. Upon the moral character of the school;

3rd. Upon the instruction given, and the methods followed, by the teacher.

They are also required to pay particular attention to the state of the normal colleges in their several districts, and to visit them frequently; to correspond with the local authorities, and to inform them of any defect in the management, &c. of the schools, which they consider to require immediate remedy; and once in

every year to present a report to the prefects of their several departments on the condition and progress of education in each of the schools.

"*Each department is obliged, either alone or in conjunction with other neighbouring departments, to support* ONE NORMAL COLLEGE *for the education of its teachers.* The expenses of this establishment are borne by the department; whilst the direction of the education given in it is vested in the Minister of Public Instruction, who is responsible to the Assembly, of which he is an ex-officio member, for the right exercise of his power. The directors of these normal colleges, and of the primary classes, which are annexed to them, are nominated by the Minister of Public Instruction, on the presentation of the prefect of the department, and of the rector of the academy. Their salaries are paid from the public funds set apart for the public instruction.

The instruction given in the normal colleges of France comprehends—

1. Moral and religious instruction;
2. Reading;
3. Arithmetic;
4. French grammar;
5. Linear drawing, surveying, and the other applications of practical geometry;
6. The elements of the physical sciences;
7. Music;
8. The elements of geography, and history, and more particularly of the history of France;
9. The grafting and the cutting of trees.

I have no need to remark how grievously inferior the education of the majority of our parochial teachers is, to the above standard of French primary education. In the majority of the schools we at present possess, the education comprises nothing more than religious instruction, — often of the most meagre kind, — reading, writing, and a little arithmetic. The generality of our schoolmasters are not capable of giving a more liberal education than this, and are often incapable of giving even this; and even where there is an efficient teacher, he hardly ever possesses the apparatus necessary for carrying out the education of his scholars.

The university, the departments, the communes, and private individuals, are enabled to settle upon the normal colleges pensions for the maintenance and education of poor but worthy young men, desirous of being educated as teachers.

No candidate can be *admitted* into a normal college, unless he comply with the following conditions: —

1. He must be at least sixteen years old.

2. He must produce certificates of good character, and a certificate of a physician, that he has been vaccinated, and that he is not subject to any infirmity, incompatible with the proper exercise of the duties of teacher.

3. He must pass an examination before a departmental committee, charged with the examination of candidates, desirous of obtaining *brevets de capacité;* of his being able to read and write correctly; of his having a knowledge of the rudiments of French gram-

mar and of arithmetic; and of his having a satisfactory acquaintance with the principles of the religion he professes.

The examiners are not *bound* to receive a candidate, who complies with these conditions, unless they are satisfied with his disposition, his character, and his intelligence.

No one can be admitted into a college unless he binds himself to serve as teacher, in a communal school, *at least ten years*; and if the candidate is under age, he cannot be admitted, unless his father, his mother, or his guardian, contracts for him.

If a young man, who has thus bound himself, quits the profession of a teacher, before the time of his engagement is ended, he is obliged by law to repay to the department the whole expense of his education in the normal college. The teachers of the department are allowed to attend the courses of instruction given in the normal college, in order to perfect their knowledge in branches of knowledge, in which they feel themselves deficient, or to learn the new methods of teaching, which have been adopted as more effectual, since they left the college.

The department committee, of which I have formerly spoken, has the power of granting assistance to those teachers who attend the normal colleges for the purpose of improving themselves.

The normal colleges admit members of all religions. All dogmatical instruction is avoided in the *general* lessons. The students receive this instruction at hours set apart for it, from clergy of their own church.

No student can officiate as teacher, in any school whatever, until he has obtained a certificate of his proficiency in the doctrines of his own religion, from a minister of his own church, until he is eighteen years old, and until he has presented to the mayor of the commune in which he wishes to conduct a school —

1. A certificate of his capability (*un brevet de capacité*) of conducting a school, which certificate must be obtained from the departmental committee, appointed to examine candidates desirous of conducting schools.

2. A certificate of moral character, which must be obtained from the mayor of the communes, or of each of the communes, in which he has lived during the last three years.

Whoever ventures to conduct a primary school without having complied with these regulations, and without having obtained from the departmental commission à *brevet de capacité*, is liable to a fine of 200 francs. His school will be closed.

I have spoken several times of the departmental commission charged with the examination of all aspirants to *brevets de capacité*. The law requires that there must be, in each department, at least one commission of primary education; charged with the examination of all candidates for a *brevet de capacité*, with the power of granting these brevets, and with the examination of all young men desiring to enter the normal colleges.

The members of these commissions are named by the Minister of Public Instruction.

The examinations are public, and the periods when

they take place are fixed and publicly announced by the minister. They are always conducted in the chief town of each department.

The commission is formed of at least seven members, three of whom are nominated from the members of the body of public instruction; a fourth must be a minister of religion. In the words of M. Kilean, who has collected all the enactments relative to primary education in France, —

"La loi a mis l'instruction morale et religieuse en tête de l'instruction primaire: il faut donc que l'instituteur ait prouvé qu'il saura transmettre aux enfans confiés à ses soins ces importantes notions, première règle de la vie. Nul doute que tout fonctionnaire de l'instruction publique, tout père de famille qui, sur la proposition des recteurs, aura été nommé membre d'une commission d'examen, ne soit en état d'apprécier l'instruction morale et religieuse des candidats; mais il convient que les futurs instituteurs fassent leurs preuves de capacité en ce genre, sous les yeux des hommes que leur caractère propre et leur mission spéciale appellent plus particulièrement à en être juges."

The number of the commission is not limited to seven.

On the contrary, besides six laymen, who ought to form part of it, there ought to be joined to it a minister of each of the three religious sects, recognised by the state; (viz. the Romanist, the Protestant, and the Jewish), which is to be found in the department.

In the scientific examinations, the commission may avail itself, if necessary, of the aid of scientific men.

If the candidate passes an examination in a satisfactory manner, he receives a *brevet de capacité* enabling him to conduct a primary school. I ought to add, that the examination varies, according as the candidate is destined to conduct an *elementary* or *superior* primary school.

The following are the forms of the certificate of examination, and of the *brevet de capacité* granted by the commission of inspection:—

"PROCÈS-VERBAL D'EXAMEN POUR L'INSTRUCTION PRIMAIRE, ÉLÉMENTAIRE, OU SUPÉRIEURE.

"Instruction primaire, élémentaire, ou supérieure.

"Procès-verbal de l'examen subi par le Sieur . . . . ., né le . . . . département de . . . ., à l'effet d'obtenir le Brevet de capacité pour l'instruction primaire, élémentaire, ou supérieure.

"Matières de l'Examen.	Résultat de l'Examen.	Observations.

"Nous membres de la Commission d'Instruction primaire réunis en la salle de . . . . au nombre de . . . . membres, après avoir fait subir publiquement au Sieur . . . . l'examen qui précède,

"Avons jugé que le Sieur . . . . était digne d'obtenir le Brevet de capacité pour l'instruction primaire, élémentaire, ou supérieure.

"En foi de quoi nous avons signé le présent procès-

verbal dont un duplicate sera aussitôt transmis à M. le Recteur de l'Académie.

" A . . . . ce . . . ., 184 .

" Signature du récipiendaire . . . .

" BREVET DE CAPACITÉ.

" Instruction primaire, élémentaire, ou supérieure.

" Président et membres de la Commission d'Instruction primaire séant à . . . ., chef lieu de l'arrondissement ou du département de . . . ., académie de . . . ., nommé par M. le Ministre, secrétaire d'état du département de l'Instruction publique, et chargés à ce titre: 1. d'examiner les aspirants au Brevet de capacité pour l'instruction primaire, élémentaire, ou supérieure: 2. de délivrer le dit brevet aux aspirants qui en auront été jugés dignes, ... Vu le procès-verbal par nous dressé ce jourd'hui, et constatant que le Sieur . . . ., né le . . . . à . . . ., canton de . . . ., arrondissement de . . . ., département de . . . ., a été examiné par nous, sur [énumérer les divers objets de l'examen, conformément aux articles 8 ou 9 du réglement], ainsi que sur les procédés méthodes d'enseignement de ces diverses connaissances; vu les articles 4 et 25 de la loi du 28 Juin 1833; et les articles 1, 5, 8, 10, 11, et 12, du réglement du conseil royal, en date du 15 Juillet 1833,

" Estimons, que le candidat a fait preuve de la capacité requise pour donner l'instruction primaire, élémentaire, ou supérieure, et, en conséquence, avons accordé au dit Sieur . . . . le présent brevet, pour lui servir et valoir ce que de raison.

"Délivré à . . . . le . . . . 183 .

"Signature de l'impétrant . . . .

"Au nom et sous l'autorité de M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique.

"Les Membres de la Commission d'Instruction Primaire."

It remains for me now to explain, how the funds for the maintenance and working of this great and liberal system of national education are defrayed.

The expenses of the normal colleges are paid out of the departmental treasures; or, as we should say in England, out of the county rates.

If a department is not rich enough to support a normal college, the prefect of the department is empowered to concert with the prefects of the neighbouring departments, for the establishment and maintenance of one joint normal college for several departments, the expenses of which are borne by them proportionally to their population. It is not left to the departments to define, what number of professors is necessary in such a college, or what salaries should be given to them: these are matters regulated by the state; for it is felt, that unless good and sufficient salaries are provided for the professors and teachers *by law*, the standard of attainment amongst them would soon be lessened; as the departments are too immediately interested in the reduction of the heavy, but necessary expenses of supporting the colleges, and often too little interested in a matter of such vital importance to the nation as the education of its citizens.

They have, therefore, wisely concluded that the state alone can be entrusted with these important regulations.

There are NINETY-TWO great colleges in France, established for the education of teachers, while in England and Wales we have not more than ten deserving of notice!

The number of young men in the normal colleges of France, in 1843, was 3012. These students were divided thus: —

Number of students, supported by exhibitions, founded by the state	249
Number of students, supported by exhibitions, founded by the departments	2,244
Number of students, supported by exhibitions, founded by the communes	86
Number of students who pay for their own education	389
Number, who are admitted for instruction only, free of expense	44
Total	3,012

So that, out of the whole number of students, who receive instruction in the normal colleges, only 389 pay for it.

This appears to me to be a very wise arrangement. If we only admit into the normal colleges, those, who will pay a certain part of the expense of their education, it is true, that we can generally ensure a more respectable class of young men; but this class is not generally so well suited to the humble though honourable drudgery of a village schoolmaster's life, as the sons of the peasants themselves, who cannot afford to pay anything towards their education.

It would seem to be advisable for government to

encourage the founding of exhibitions at the normal colléges, for defraying the expense of the education of peasants' sons as teachers.

Besides SEVENTY-SIX normal colleges, which are now established for the education of schoolmasters, sixteen others have been opened in France for the education of schoolmistresses. The departments contribute annually towards the expense of these latter colleges the sum of 60,459 francs, the state 11,430 francs, and the pupil-teachers themselves 13,558 francs.

The number of young women in these colleges, in 1843, was 283, divided as follows: —

Number supported by exhibitions founded by the state	33
Number supported by exhibitions founded by the departments	174
Number paying for their own education	28
Number admitted to the classes free of expense	48
Total	283

Eight of these colleges are directed by members of religious associations, and the schoolmistresses belonging to these religious societies are found to be much more serviceable than the lay schoolmistresses. In this respect the Roman Church has a great advantage over us. Had we institutions, where females desirous of devoting themselves to a religious life, and to the education of the poor, could be educated; we should soon have them filled, and should thus secure to the country a body of religious, zealous, and enlightened teachers of poor girls. Without institutions of this kind, we shall always find it very difficult, to obtain a sufficient supply of good female teachers. For not only are the duties of a schoolmistress such as most young

women fear to encounter alone, without the protection and support of a husband; but even, if we could find a sufficient number of young women to supply the village schools of England and Wales, the desertions from their ranks would always be very numerous and frequent, as marriages would be more frequent amongst them, than amongst any other set of women; from the value set upon sensible and well-educated wives by the poor, and even by the middle classes. From this cause, the annual vacancies in schoolmistresses' situations in France are very much more numerous in proportion to the number of situations, than the annual vacancies in schoolmasters' situations.

In the institutions directed by members of religious associations, the French government most wisely claims the right of inspecting the schools and classes, and forbids any young woman engaging in the duties of schoolmistress, until she has obtained from the local committee a *brevet de capacité.*

The number of schoolmasters' situations annually vacant in France is 1888, and that of schoolmistresses 787. There are two causes for the number of the former vacancies being so numerous.

One is, that the payment of the masters of France is not good, the other, that industrial training is not yet sufficiently developed in of the normal colleges. As long as a country will educate a set of intellectual *gentlemen* for the management of *pauper* schools, so long, despite of all its efforts, it will find, that the number of desertions from the teachers' ranks will be great. The first of these defects is now being remedied by the

present French government. The second will not long escape observation in a country paying such attention to the question of primary education.

In addition to the great number of colleges for the instruction of teachers, of which I have spoken, there is another establishment for the same purpose, to which I cannot advert without feelings of the deepest gratification. I mean the normal college and religious foundation of the Frères Chrétiens at Paris. No one interested in the progress of true Christianity, and in the advancement of the best interests of the people, should fail to visit these excellent men, and to witness a spectacle, which truly exhibits, in these active days, a realisation of the apostolic times.

The Frères are a society of men, *devoted entirely and exclusively to the education of the poor.* They take the vow of celibacy, renounce all the pleasures of society and relationship, enter into the brotherhood, and retain only two objects in life — their own spiritual advancement, and the education of children of the poor. Before a young man can be received into the society, he is required to pass an intermediate period of education and trial, during which he is denied all the ordinary pleasures of life, is accustomed to the humblest and most servile occupations, and receives an excellent and most liberal education. During this period, which lasts three years, he is carefully instructed in the principles of the Romanist religion, in the sciences, in the French and Latin languages, in history, geography, arithmetic, writing, &c., while he is, during the same time, required to perform the most humble household

duties. The frères and the young men, who are passing through their first novitiate, manage in turn all the household duties — as the cooking, the preparation of the meals, and all the ordinary duties of domestic servants. These duties, together with their simple and perfectly plain costume, and their separation from the world and from their friends, who are only permitted to visit them at long intervals, accustom them to the arduous and self-denying life they are called upon afterwards to lead in the primary schools.

By these means is formed a character admirably fitted for the important office of a teacher.

The frères never leave the walls of one of their houses, except in company. One frère is not permitted to travel without being accompanied by another; and when a department or commune requires their services in a primary school, *three* are sent out, one of whom manages their domestic concerns, whilst the other two conduct the school classes. When, however, there is in any town more than one school conducted by frères, they all live together under the superintendence of an elder frère, who is styled director.

If, at the end of the first novitiate, the young man is still willing and desirous of entering the brotherhood, he is admitted by gradual advancement and preparation into the bosom of the society. He is then at the disposition of the principal of the order, who sends him, in company with two brothers, to some district, which has requested a teacher from them.

What remains of their salaries, after defraying the expenses of their frugal table, *is returned to the trea-*

sury of the society, by which it is expended in the printing of school-books, in the various expenses of their central establishment, and in works of charity.

Before a frère is allowed to conduct a primary school, he is obliged to obtain, in like manner as all the other teachers of French, a *brevet de capacité;* government demanding in all cases assurance, that every teacher has a certain amount of knowledge, and that a certain amount of secular instruction is given in their schools.

All the schools of this order are open as well to the inspectors of government, who regularly visit, examine, and report upon them, as to the periodical examination of several of the elder of the brotherhood, who travel at the expense of the society, and examine with great strictness the conduct and progress of the frères in all their different schools, and report to the principal of the order in Paris.

This society exists in various countries, and the following table, extracted from some statistics recommended to my notice by the principal of the order in France, will show the number of schools conducted by Frères in 1844, and the number of children educated in them, throughout Europe.

	Number of Schools conducted by Frères.	Number of Children in these Schools.
France	658	169,501
Belgium	41	9,535
Savoy	28	5,110
Piedmont	30	6,490
Pontifical States	20	4,199
Canada	6	1,840
Turkey	2	580
Switzerland	2	444
Total	787	197,699

The education given in their schools is very liberal, and the books used very good. The frères consider that if they neglect to develope the intellect of their pupils, they cannot advance their religious education satisfactorily; they consequently spare no pains to attain the former development, in order that the latter, which is the great end of their teaching and of all instruction whatsoever, may not be retarded.

I annex a few of the regulations of the society, referring all, who wish to know more of this interesting association, to a work recently published at Paris, entitled "De l'Association en général et spécialement de l'Association Charitable des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes, par M. Rendu":—

"1. The Institution des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes is a society, which professes to conduct schools gratuitously.

"The design of this institution is to give a christian education to children. With this object in view, the frères conduct schools, where children may be placed under the management of teachers from morning until evening; so that the teachers may be able to teach them to live honestly and uprightly, by instructing them in the principles of our holy religion, by teaching them christian precepts, and by giving them suitable and sufficient instruction.

"2. The spirit of the institution is a spirit of faith, which ought to encourage its members to attribute all to God, to act as continually in the sight of God, and in perfect conformity to his orders and his will. The members of this association should be filled with an

ardent zeal for the instruction of children, for their preservation in innocence and the fear of God, and for their entire separation from sin.

"3. The institution is directed by a superior, who is nominated for life. He has two assistants, who compose his council, and aid him in governing the society. These assistants live in the same house with him, assist at his councils, and render him aid, whenever necessary.

"4. The superior is elected by ballot, by the directors assembled at the principal houses; the two assistants are chosen in the same manner; and these latter hold office ten years, and can then be re-elected.

"5. The superior may be deposed; but only by a general chapter, and for grave causes.

"6. This chapter is composed of thirty of the oldest frères, or directors of the principal houses, who assemble by right once every ten years, and whenever it is deemed necessary to convoke an extraordinary meeting.

"7. The private houses are governed by frères-directors, who are appointed for three years, unless it appears advisable to the superior and his assistants to name a shorter period, or to recall them before the end of it.

"8. The superior names the visitors. They are appointed for three years, and make a round of visits once every year. They require of the directors an account of the receipts and expenses, and as soon as their visits are completed, they present a report to their superior of the necessary changes and corrections to be made by him.

"9. No frère can take priests' orders, or pretend to

any ecclesiastical office, neither can he wear a surplice, or serve in the churches, except at daily mass; but all confine themselves to their vocations and live in silence, in retreat, and in entire devotion to their duties.

"10. They are bound to the institution by three simple religious vows, which are taken at first for only three years, as well as by a vow of perseverance, and a renouncement of any recompense for the instruction they give. These vows can only be annulled after dispensation granted by the Pope.

"11. They are not admitted to take the vows, until they have been at least two years in the institution, and until they have passed one year in the noviciate, and one year in the school.

"12. They are only admitted after a severe examination, and then only by the votes of a majority of the frères of the house, in which they have passed their novitiate.

"13. They have two noviciates — one to which young men between thirteen and sixteen years of age, and the other to which older men, are admitted. But all young men, below the age of twenty-five, who enter the society, must renew their vows every year, till they attain that age.

"14. They banish from the society every frère, who conducts himself unbecomingly. But this is only done for grave offences, and by a majority of votes, at a general chapter.

"15. The same regulation is observed, when a frère desires to leave the society, and to obtain a dispensation from his vows.

"16. The frères will not establish themselves in the dioceses without the consent of the bishops, and will acknowledge their authority as their spiritual government, and that of the magistrates as their civil government.

"19. The frères shall instruct their pupils after the method prescribed to them by the institution.

"20. They shall teach their scholars to read French and Latin, and to write.

"21. They shall also teach them orthography, arithmetic, the matins, the vespers, le Pater, l'Ave-Maria, le Credo et le Confiteor, the French translations of these prayers, the commandments of God and of the Church, the responses of the holy mass, the catechism, the duties of a Christian, and the maxims and precepts, which our Lord has left us in the Holy Testament.

"22. They shall teach the catechism half-an-hour daily."

They also teach geography, French, and universal history, drawing and singing. Their school books are very excellent, and the education given in their schools very liberal and sound. There is no attempt to diminish the quantity or quality of secular instruction; but, on the contrary, every effort is made by the frères, by giving a good instruction to their children, to prepare their minds for the reception of religious truths; that they may become practical and consistent Christians, instead of superstitious and inconsistent men. I visited one of their private schools at Paris, and was very

much delighted with the quiet of the class-rooms and with the manners, and great intelligence of the children.

"27. The frères may not receive from the scholars or their parents, either money or any other presents at any time.

"30. They must exhibit an equal affection for all their poor scholars, and more for the poor, than for the rich, because the object of the institution is the instruction of the poor.

"31. They must endeavour to give their pupils, by their conduct and manners, a continual example of modesty and of all the other virtues, which the children ought to be taught, and which they ought to practise.

"37. They must take the greatest care to punish their children as rarely as possible, as they ought to be persuaded, that by refraining as much as possible from punishment, they will best succeed in properly conducting a school, and establishing order in it.

"38. When punishment has become absolutely necessary, they must take the greatest care to punish with the greatest moderation and presence of mind, and never to do it under the influence of a hasty movement, or when they feel irritated.

"39. They must watch over themselves, that they never exhibit the least anger or impatience, either in their corrections, or in any of their words or actions; as they ought to be convinced, that if they do not take these precautions, the scholars will not profit from their correction, (and the frères never ought to correct, except with the object of benefiting their children), and God will not give the correction his blessing.

"40. They must not at any time give to their scholars any injurious epithet or insulting name.

"41. They must also take the greatest care not to strike their scholars with hand, foot, or stick, nor to push them rudely.

"42. They must take great care not to pull the ears, hair, or noses of their scholars, nor to fling anything at them: these kinds of corrections ought not to be practised by the frères, as they are very indecent, and opposed to charity and Christian kindness.

"43. They must not correct their scholars during prayers, or at the time of catechising, except when they cannot defer the correction.

"44. They must not use corporal punishment, except when every other means of correction has failed to produce the right effect.

"58. The Frère-director shall be an inspector over all the schools in his town, and when more than one inspector is necessary for one house of Frères, the other inspector shall report to the Frère-director twice a week on the conduct of each frère, on the condition of his class, and on the progress of his scholars.

"Signé Jean Baptiste Herbet dit Frumence, Vicaire-Général des Frères des écoles chrétiennes;
Barthélemy Garnier, dit F. Barthélemy;
Jean Baptiste Dié, dit F. Emery;
Aflabel, dit F. P. Célestin."

Each commune, as I have before said, is required, either alone or in association with one or more neigh-

bouring communes, to establish at least one primary school, to pay at least one teacher, and to furnish him with a comfortable house. If a commune cannot, either alone or by association with others, afford to provide sufficient school-room for its population, it applies for assistance first to the council of the department, and if the council is not able to render the required aid, it forwards an application to government, which is always ready to assist local efforts in the development of national education.

The following table will give an idea of the condition of primary education in the different communes in 1843:—

Number of arrondissements	363
Number of communes	37,038
Population	34,230,178
Number of communes provided with primary schools	34,578
Population of communes provided with primary schools	33,080,002
Number of communes not yet provided with a primary school	2,460
Population of the communes not yet provided with primary schools	1,150,176
Number of communes which require several primary schools and which possess only one	23
Number of communes which are required by law to support one superior primary school	290
Number of communes which ought to support superior primary schools, and which do support them	222
Population of these communes	4,177,047
Number of communes which ought to support several superior primary schools, and which support only one	23
Number of communes which are not required by law to support a superior primary school, and which do support one	103
Total number of primary schools, elementary and superior, for boys and girls, established in France in 1843	59,838
Total number of primary schools in the 86 departments of France visited in 1843 by the 87 inspectors and 113 sub-inspectors	50,936

In addition to these schools for children, there ought to be added 6434 classes for the labourers, which are conducted by the primary school teachers in the evenings after the day's work, or on the Sundays, and in which 95,064 adult labourers received instruction in 1843; and also a great number of infant schools, which have been recently opened in the departments, and which are receiving great encouragement and attention from the government.

Before I close this imperfect account of the great and admirable system of primary education in France, I ought to mention two other wise and beneficial regulations. One is the formation of funds in each department, for the relief of the old and superannuated teachers, and of the widows and children of teachers who die in the exercise of their important functions. In each department every teacher is required to subscribe yearly one-twentieth part of the salary he receives from his commune, and the sum which he thus pays, together with the interest upon it, is returned to him when he retires, or to his widow and children, if he dies before retiring.

The other regulation to which I referred, is the awarding of silver and bronze medals by government, to those teachers who distinguish themselves in the management of their schools. This encourages and stimulates them to continued efforts, by offering honourable marks of the approbation of their country to those who distinguish themselves, and by reminding them that the whole nation is interested in their success.

Since the French Revolution of 1848, the salaries of

the communal teachers which were formerly too small, have been considerably augmented, and the social position of the national instructors has, in consequence, been considerably improved. This is an act worthy of the Republic, and will be productive of great good, as it makes the teachers' profession more worthy the aspirations and labours of able men of the lower classes of society.

A law is at present under the consideration of the Assemblée Nationale, which, if passed, will give the préfects, or chief magistrates of the departments, much greater powers, than they at present possess, both in the appointment of the teachers and in their suspension, when necessary. But its fate is so uncertain, that I purposely abstain from mentioning it further.

At the present moment, France has 76 normal colleges for the education of schoolmasters, and 16 for the education of schoolmistresses, making in all 92 normal colleges. To 52 of these colleges land is adjoined, for the purpose of teaching the students agriculture or horticulture. The course of instruction lasts 2 years in 49 of these schools, and 3 years in the rest.

The force of inspectors consists of 87 chief inspectors, and 114 subinspectors; and I find that in the year 1843 these gentlemen visited 30,001 communes, and inspected 50,986 schools.

The French government grants 2,000,000*l.* per annum for the furtherance of national education. This is in addition to the enormous local funds, which are expended annually on the same object by the departments and communes.

In England the government grants 120,000*l.* a year for the same purpose.

TABLE showing the Number of Primary Schools belonging to the different Sects recognised by the State.

Primary Schools specially set apart for the Roman Catholics	Public Schools.	Boys	33,207	40,867	56,812
		Girls	7,660		
	Private Schools.	Boys	17,098	15,945	
		Girls	8,847		
Primary Schools set apart for the Protestants	Public Schools.	Boys	702	761	1,080
		Girls	59		
	Private Schools.	Boys	103	39	
		Girls	156		
Primary Schools specially set apart for the Jews	Public Schools.	Boys	33	37	115
		Girls	4		
	Private Schools.	Boys	74	78	
		Girls	4		
Mixed Schools open for all three Sects	Public Schools.	Boys	948	4055	1,831
		Girls	107		
	Private Schools.	Boys	326	776	
		Girls	450		
Total Number of Primary Schools in France in 1843					59,838

I shall now give a very brief sketch of the admirable educational system of HOLLAND.

In England not one in every 12 of the population is receiving primary instruction; in the Dutch provinces of Drenthe and Over Yesel, in 1835, the proportion was about one in six, and throughout Holland generally it was one in eight. There is scarcely a child of ten years of age, and of sound intellect in Holland, who cannot both read and write; almost every every one receives instruction at some period, the expense of which is for the most part, and in some instances entirely, defrayed by the state, without the inculcation of any particular creed; the interference of government being exerted only to exclude improper

and incompetent teachers, and to regulate the mode of instruction by a system of inspection.

Mr. Nicholls, in his interesting Report on the Condition of the Labouring Poor in Belgium and Holland, published in 1838, from which I quote by his permission, says—

"Nothing can exceed the cleanliness, the personal propriety, and the apparent comfort of the people of Holland. I did not see a house or fence out of repair, or a garden that was not carefully cultivated. We met no ragged or dirty persons, nor any drunken men; neither did I see any indication that drunkenness is the vice of any portion of the people. I was assured, that bastardy was almost unknown; and, although we were, during all hours of the day, much in the public thoroughfares, we saw only two beggars, and they in manners and appearance scarcely came within the designation.

"The Dutch people appear to be strongly attached to their government, and few countries possess a population, in which the domestic and social duties are discharged with such constancy. A scrupulous economy and cautious foresight seem to be the characteristic virtues of every class. To spend their full annual income is accounted a species of crime. The same systematic prudence pervades every part of the community, agricultural and commercial, and thus the Dutch people are enabled to bear up against the most formidable physical difficulties, and to secure a larger amount of individual comfort than probably exists in any other country."

But what has led to this happy social state? How

has Holland improved the social condition of her people? I answer, by providing for their education, and by teaching them to think and to care for themselves. Holland has the honour of having been one of the first among the European nations which recognised the truth, that an uncivilised and degraded peasantry are always more immoral and wretched, than one whose minds have been disenthralled, and whose tastes have been raised by a religious, moral, and intellectual education; and she has the still greater honour of having been one of the first to throw off the shackles of uncharitable and unchristian sectarianism, and to assert and to act on the assertion, that the doctrines in which all Christian sects agree, are immeasurably more important, than the doctrines in which they differ.

I shall give a very brief sketch of the organisation and present condition of primary education in Holland.

The department of Public Instruction is directed by the Minister of the Interior, aided by the "Inspector General of Public Instruction." This latter person is, in reality, the Minister of Education. There is no further centralisation than this. There is neither a council nor any other central inspectors than the Inspector General.

It is only since 1800, that primary education has received the serious attention of the Dutch government. M. Van der Palm, in that year, introduced into the Chamber of the Representatives of the Batavian Republic, a great scheme of national education, which was modified and altered by M. Van den Ende, and finally adopted in February 1806.

This code of instruction is so well suited to the

spirit and genius of the country, that it has survived three great revolutions without receiving any great alteration.

In each province, there is a commission of primary instruction. This commission is composed of all the inspectors of the different school districts into which the province is divided. In each of these school districts, there resides an inspector of the schools, who is required to visit and inspect each school in his district, at least twice a year. Each inspector is the director of the primary education of his district. Before he has examined and approved a candidate, no one can exercise the office of either public or private instructor, nor can any teacher obtain advancement, without his permission. The parochial school societies have no power to do anything without his assent, and he is either president or influential member of all in his district.

Three times a year, all the inspectors of each province assemble at its chief town, where the governor of the province presides over their meetings. Each of these conferences lasts two or three weeks, during which time each inspector reads aloud his report of the progress and state of education in his district, and refers to the meeting any questions on which he may desire to have their decision.

Each province has its own special regulations on primary education, founded on the general law of the country. The meeting of the inspectors examines whether the acts of the inspectors have conformed with these regulations, and prepares a general report on the state and progress of education in the province, which

is forwarded to the Inspector-General, together with such proposals for changes or modifications in the provincial regulations as may seem advisable to the meeting.

Thus each inspector is responsible to the provincial board for the progress of education within his district, whilst the provincial boards are themselves responsible to the government.

Before a candidate can become a teacher, he must obtain, besides a certificate of moral character, brevets of—

1. General Admission;
2. Special Admission.

He must obtain a brevet of general admission to the profession of teacher, by passing an examination before the provincial commission composed of the inspectors of the districts of the province. When he has obtained this general admission, he becomes an authorised candidate; but he is not yet at liberty to exercise the functions of either public or private teacher. If the candidate wishes to be a private teacher, it is necessary for him to obtain the authorisation of the municipal authorities, which cannot be granted without the consent of the inspector. If the candidate wishes to be a teacher in a public school, he is obliged to pass another examination before a local committee, where the inspector sits as one of the judges; and should the inspector think the decision of the commission unwise, and that the candidate is not worthy to be entrusted with the care of a school, the inspector has a right to appeal against the decision of this commission to the minister. Even

when elected by the commission, the candidate is obliged to visit the inspector, and obtain his sanction. Such are the great precautions which Holland takes in the election of her teachers; whilst with us, in the great majority of cases, any one is considered sufficiently qualified to fill this important office. I myself have seen men entrusted with the care of schools, whose immorality and lowness was so marked with indelible lines upon their countenances, that I would on no account have entrusted them with the duties of the humblest menial.

The suspension or dismissal of the teachers is pronounced, when it is necessary, by the municipal or provincial authorities, but only on the proposition of the inspectors.

The inspectors themselves are appointed and paid by the state.

The inspectors are charged to take care that no books are employed in the primary schools, but such as are authorised by government.

The law of 1801 proclaims, as the great end of all instruction, the exercise of the social and Christian virtues. In this respect it agrees with the law of Prussia and France; but it differs from the law of these countries in the way by which it attempts to attain this end. In France, and all the German countries, the schools are the auxiliaries, so to speak, of the churches; for, whilst the schools are open to all sects, yet the teacher is a man trained up in the particular doctrines of the majority of his pupils, and required to teach those doctrines during certain hours,

the children who differ from him in religious belief, being permitted to absent themselves from the religious lessons, on condition that their parents provided elsewhere for their religious instruction. But, in Holland, the teachers are required to give religious instruction to all the children, and to avoid most carefully touching on any of the grounds of controversy between the different sects.

Mr. Nicholls says: "As respects religion, the population of Holland is divided, in about equal proportions, into Catholic, Lutheran, and Protestants of the reformed Calvinistic church; and the ministers of each are supported by the state. The schools contain, without distinction, the children of every sect of Christians. The religious and moral instruction afforded to the children is taken from the pages of Holy Writ, and the whole course of education is mingled with a frequent reference to the great general evidences of revelation. Biblical history is taught, not as a dry narration of facts, but as a store-house of truths, calculated to influence the affections, to correct and elevate the manners, and to inspire sentiments of devotion and virtue. The great principles and truths of Christianity, in which all are agreed, are likewise carefully inculcated; but those points, which are the subjects of difference and religious controversy, form no part of the instructions of the schools. This department of religious teaching is confided to the ministers of each persuasion, who discharge this portion of their duties out of school; but within the schools the common ground of instruction is faithfully preserved, and they are, consequently, alto-

gether free from the spirit of jealousy or proselytism. We witnessed the exercise of a class of the children of notables of Haarlem (according to the simultaneous method), respecting the death and resurrection of our Saviour, by a minister of the Lutheran church. The class contained children of Catholics, Calvinists, and other denominations of Christians, as well as Lutherans, and all disputable doctrinal points were carefully avoided. The Lutherans are the smallest in number, the Calvinists the largest, and the Catholics about midway between the two; but all appear to live together in perfect amity, without the slightest distinction in the common intercourse of life; and this circumstance, so extremely interesting in itself, no doubt facilitated the establishment of the general system of education here described, the *effects of which are so apparent in the highly moral and intellectual condition of the Dutch people.*"

Education is not compulsory in Holland, as it is in Switzerland and in all the German countries; but the inspectors throughout the country, whose number is about eighty, have so excited the zeal of the departmental and communal committees, and have been so well seconded in their efforts by the ministers of religion in their parochial visitations, in their sermons, and in their lectures, and by the excellent administration of public relief, *which is invariably refused, unless the children of the parents applying for relief are sent to school;* that the necessity of compulsory regulations has not been felt; and we find, that in several parts of the kingdom, the proportion of children at-

tending school, to the whole population, is as great as *one in every six*; whilst the proportion generally of the children receiving instruction to the whole population, *is one in every eight*.

These admirable results have been obtained slowly. The causes which have most contributed to them, are the excellence of the schools, the talent of the teachers, and, above all, the respect and honour the teachers have gradually attained by the honourable and independent situation, in which they have been placed by the government.

Nothing can be a more fatal delusion, than to suppose that the poor are indifferent to the character and acquirements of the teacher. I have seen the most remarkable instances to the contrary, and I could mention more than fifty instances, which have come under my own knowledge, where the schools conducted by able and high-minded teachers have been filled to overflowing, where, previously, the schools being conducted by inefficient and low-minded men, hardly contained sufficient numbers for one small class. It is shameful to suppose, that the poor, even where they themselves have never enjoyed any education, are indifferent to these matters. Natural love and affection are not the results of education, but, on the contrary, are found generally much stronger in the cottage than in the palace; and they teach the parents, no matter how ignorant, to keep their children under their own eye at home, rather than to expose them to the misery and moral degradation of the instruction of a narrow-minded and ignorant man. As long as we are content to fill any of the teachers'

situations with wholly unfit persons, and, as long as we are content to leave the teachers to work in the schools without any constant inspection by the central authority, so long shall we continue in many instances to do positive injury to the poor, instead of conferring benefit upon them. We are creating miserable and demoralising associations in connection with all the humanising influences of a good education. The Bible, and the books used in the classes, remind of the hated classes, where the child was miserable under the caprice of an ignorant and low-minded teacher, and they are laid aside as producing disagreeable sensations, reminiscences of the school-days.

The Dutch government has not defined the minimum of the teachers' salaries, as the French, Swiss, and German governments have done, but it has enjoined (réglement A, art. 30.) upon the parochial committees to take care, that they pay their teachers well, and it has promised its assistance to any parish, which is too poor to raise the necessary funds. The inspectors have, as I have shown, sufficient power to enforce the actual observance of this injunction; and it appears that the teachers throughout the country are satisfied with their situations.

Mr. Nicholls says, "The schoolmasters of the primary schools in Holland are supported in respectability and comfort. Their functions are held in high estimation, and we were assured, that they were generally content with their lot; but there is no positive provision fixing their salaries. The law only enacts, generally, that the municipal and departmental authorities shall secure a

sufficient income to the teachers, and *that they shall not be left dependent upon payments from the parents of their scholars.*

This last regulation is very wise, as it is highly important that the teachers' incomes should be certain as well as sufficient to secure them a respectable maintenance. The Dutch think it advisable to oblige all the parents, who send their children to school, and *who can afford it*, to pay some small weekly sum for the education of their children. They think that by doing this, the parents become more interested in the progress of their children, and that, on the other hand, the teacher is interested in pleasing the parents, and in the improvement of the children, as the greater the progress they make, the greater will generally be the numbers of his school, and the greater will be his weekly gains.

In the great part of Germany, however, primary education has been made entirely gratuitous since the revolutions of 1848.

I again quote Mr. Nicholls, who says: "To the schools thus provided, the people, without any exception or distinction, are entitled to send their children on payment of certain fixed sums monthly, or at shorter periods. These payments are regulated with reference to the nature of the education to be afforded; but the whole charge, even for the highest class, is of small amount. *In the case of parents so poor, or so burdened with large families as to be actually unable to pay, the local authorities are empowered to remit the charge;* and thus the means of education are secured to the

lowest, as well as to the highest. We were assured that no abuse of the power of exemption had ever occurred, and that no charge of partiality had ever been made. The people acquiesced cheerfully and contentedly in every arrangement, and were as desirous of sending their children to be educated, as the government and local authorities were to impart the benefits of education. In Haarlem, with a population of 21,000, we were informed *there was not a child of ten years of age, and of sound intellect, who could not both read and write*, and throughout Holland it is the same."

There are two normal colleges in Holland for the instruction of teachers; one at Groningen, for the province of Friesland, Drenthe, and Overyssel, and the other at Haarlem, for the rest of Holland.

It was in 1816 that the Dutch government first established normal colleges, after having in vain tried all other methods for obtaining a sufficient supply of efficient teachers.

I visited the college at Haarlem in 1848; it was under the direction of the celebrated educationist Herr Princen; it was one of the first normal colleges ever established in Europe.

There were forty students in the college; the students remain in the college FOUR years, before they leave to undertake the management of the elementary schools.

The subjects of instruction in the college are—

The Scriptures;

Arithmetic;

Writing;

History of Holland;
General History;
Geography;
Mathematics;
Natural History;
Botany;
Singing;
The Art of Teaching.

The education given in the college IS PERFECTLY GRATUITOUS: all the expenses of the college are borne by the States. Before a candidate can be admitted into the college definitely, he is obliged to pass through a trial of three months; if nothing is discovered during this trial, which proves him to be unfitted to be a teacher, a report is made to the minister on his character, conduct, and general fitness for a teacher's duties; and, if this report is satisfactory, the candidate is admitted into the college.

I have mentioned, before, the two kinds of examinations which each candidate is required to pass before he can obtain permission to conduct a primary school. By far the most important of these is the examination of general admission; this examination is perfectly organised in Holland.

The brevets granted to those who pass an examination are of four kinds; varying according to the merits of the teachers: they consequently constitute four ranks among the teachers. The towns never admit any teachers but of the first and second rank; a brevet of the first rank cannot be obtained, until the candidate has attained the age of twenty-five years. The brevet

of the third rank only confers the right of conducting a village school, and the brevet of the fourth rank only confers the right of acting as assistant teacher in some town or village school, or of conducting a village school where the pay is very poor, if such a school can be found.

The examinations embrace the scientific attainments of the candidates, their methods of instruction, their power of disciplining and governing a school, and a strict inquiry into their character and religious education. After the examinations are concluded, the brevets are delivered with the ranks of their respective candidates inscribed upon them, as well as a short *résumé* of their characters and attainments. The names and ranks of the different candidates are then published in the official Journal of Public Instruction.

It is not necessary for me to point out what emulation this plan begets among the pupil teachers in the normal colleges, and among the teachers in the lower classes of the primary schools: they know that by improving themselves, they may raise themselves to the highest ranks of their profession.

But as M. Cousin justly remarks, however well organized the examinations themselves may be, their real efficiency must entirely depend on the persons who are selected to form the commissions of examinations. If men, who have never given their thoughts to education, were chosen, the examinations would degenerate into a mere empty farce, as ridiculous as they would be injurious to the community. But here again, the Dutch have made some very wise and important

regulations. The commissioners, who conduct these examinations, are the inspectors themselves, assembled in the provincial meetings; men who have spent years in studying the best way of promoting the education of the poor; men who thoroughly understand what ought to be required of a man, wishing to enter into the honourable profession of the teachers; and men, also, who are personally interested in obtaining good and able men for their several districts.

Every district inspector is required by law to convene, either at his own house in the district, or at some other place, as shall appear most convenient to himself, at certain fixed periods, an educational conference, to which he is required to invite all the teachers of his district. At these conferences the general progress of education in the district, and the best means of promoting and furthering its further developments are discussed, and the teachers are reminded that they are not struggling singly and unaided, but that each one is a member of a well-disciplined army, all engaged in the same great enterprise, the moral reformation of their country.

As regards the proportional number of teachers and scholars, it is ordained; that if the number of scholars attending a primary school is under seventy, one teacher only need be provided; but that if it exceeds seventy, the commune must either alone, or with the assistance of government, support two teachers.

When a scholar leaves the primary school in which he has been educated, he receives, if he has conducted himself well and made a satisfactory progress in his studies,

an honorary certificate, which of course is of great assistance to him afterwards when seeking a situation.

As I mentioned before, the same plan is adopted in Prussia, and with the most admirable results, as it stimulates the scholars to distinguish themselves by their attention to their studies, and to gain the approbation of their teachers by their orderly deportment in the school. But it is highly important that the power of granting these certificates should not be left to the teachers alone, as it enables a tyrannical and capricious man to blast the future prospects of a poor child, merely perhaps to gratify some unreasonable prejudice or dislike, arising from an unintentional or slight personal affront offered him by the scholar.

M. Cousin thinks, that Holland ought to have five instead of two normal colleges; and certainly, when we consider the numbers which are found necessary in France, Prussia, Saxony, Austria, Switzerland, Hanover, and Bavaria, it would seem that two are not a sufficient number for 2,600,000 inhabitants. The reason why Holland does not require so many as other countries is, that she seems to have provided a more comfortable livelihood for the primary teachers than the other European nations have done. I have mentioned several times before, that it is found to be very bad economy to stint the pay of the teachers. The worse they are paid, the shorter time they will stay at their posts; for it cannot be expected, that the majority of the teachers will be so philanthropic as to forego the good pay, which their education will enable

them to obtain in other situations, for poor pay and hard work as a village teacher.

The school-buildings in Holland are very good. I inspected several of them in different parts of the country. Each school-house contains from one to six class-rooms. The children are divided into classes, according to their proficiency in their studies, and are separated in the different class-rooms. One or two teachers direct the studies of the children in each room. There are, however, generally two or three times as many children in one class-room in Holland, as in Prussia.

The class rooms in Holland, as in the rest of Europe, are each fitted up with parallel rows of desks and forms where the children sit. They are kept beautifully clean, are constantly whitewashed, and are very well ventilated. All necessary apparatus is also provided. The excellent condition and character of the school-buildings prove how warmly interested the people themselves feel in the education of the young.

The appearance of the children is as beautiful as in Prussia.

I, and a friend with whom I was travelling in Holland, used to go out into the streets in the middle of the day to see the children come out from the schools, and walk home. It was a beautiful sight. The little girls, with their clean and well-made frocks, with their well-arranged hair, and with their clean hands and faces; and the boys, with their neat clothes, free from unseemly patches, with their well-brushed hair, and with their well-washed hands and faces, form a strange

and almost incredible contrast with the children to be seen in the streets of our towns.

The children in Holland do not, as in Germany, carry their books home with them. In Germany, each child carries a bag or a knapsack, and whenever they go home they carry their school-books with them. The Dutch children leave their books, &c. at school. I think the German plan is the better of the two. It interests the children more in the books themselves, and in their preservation, and it impresses them with the feeling, that the books are their own property. It enables them to show their parents what they have been learning or reading. It gives them an opportunity of working at home, and of preparing for their class duties. It makes the children feel that they are trusted; and it connects the school in some degree with the home.

Such is the system of national education in Holland.

In Hanover, as, indeed, throughout all the German kingdoms, the education of the people has made very satisfactory progress, despite all the difficulties arising from religious differences. In fact, it is always easy enough to overcome these difficulties, wherever the higher classes are really interested in the people's progress.

The population of Hanover is divided into different religious sects in the following proportions:—

Lutherans	1,356,000
Calvinists	102,850
Roman Catholics	212,300
Jews	11,000
Mennonites	1,870

Six normal colleges have been established in the principalities of Hanover, Hildesheim, Stade, and Osnabruck, in which the teachers are educated and trained for their duties. The proportion of the children attending school, as compared with the whole population, is about 1 in every 7.

Education in Denmark is very widely diffused, there being very few persons, even among the lowest classes, who are unable to read and write. In Denmark, a general code of regulations for schools has existed since 1817. The condition of primary education has, since that period, made a continuous and very satisfactory progress. Primary schools are established in all the parishes; and here, as in Prussia, attendance at school is not optional; for, by a late law, all children between the ages of seven and fourteen years are *obliged* to attend some public school. The children, whose parents are unable to pay the usual school-fees, are educated at the public expense. The instruction given in the primary schools, besides reading, writing, arithmetic, and history, includes geography, and natural history.

The elementary schools of Denmark amounted, in 1838, to 4600, and contained 278,500 scholars. The population in 1835 was 2,033,865, and the number of children of an age to go to school was 360,000; so that the whole of the juvenile population of Denmark may be said to have been receiving instruction.

In Sweden and Norway the education of the people is quite as satisfactorily advanced, and in the former country it is said, that there is not more than one person in every thousand who cannot read and write!

"It was from the German states that the influence of advancing civilisation spread into Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland. The wars which succeeded the French revolution, kept back for a time the educational institutions of these states; yet even under a foreign yoke, and in the confusion consequent on rapid political changes, a gradual progress was made: every interval of quiet was in Germany and Prussia applied to the reparation of the consequences of foreign invasion; and the peace was no sooner proclaimed, than the government of every Protestant state on the continent sought to rescue the people from the demoralisation consequent on a disorganising war, and to prepare the means of future defence in the developement of the moral force of her people. England alone appears in this respect to have misunderstood the genius of Protestantism. With the wealthiest and the most enlightened aristocracy, the richest and most influential church, and the most enterprising middle class, her lower orders are, as a mass, more ignorant and less civilised than those of any other large Protestant country in Europe."*

* Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England.

CHAP. XIV.

THE PRESENT STATE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES.—THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.—HOW WE MIGHT PROVIDE SUFFICIENT MEANS FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

SINCE the year 1801, the population of England and Wales has nearly DOUBLED. In 1801, the population, inclusive of the army and navy, amounted to only 8,872,980, while at the present time it amounts to nearly 17,000,000, exclusive of the same forces. In 1831, the population, exclusive of the army and navy, amounted to only 13,897,187; so that, in the short space of EIGHTEEN years, it has increased by more than 3,000,000 souls!

We have, within the last four years, freed our trade and commerce from nearly every impediment to their fullest developement.

We have repealed the duties on corn, which tended formerly to prevent corn-growing countries from bringing their corn to our markets, in order to exchange it for our manufactured products; we have opened our ports to the ships of all nations, and have invited them all to come and take away our goods; we are rapidly destroying the system of piracy, which has hitherto infested the seas of China and the Eastern Archipelago, and greatly hindered the progress of our commerce in those regions; we are about to open the vast and al-

most unexplored markets of India by railways, and by the flat-bottomed steam-boats on the great rivers; our people are spreading themselves over all the colonies faster and faster, carrying with them a taste for, and thus forming vast markets for the sale of, English manufactures; the American people are increasing prodigiously in numbers, and the more they increase, so much the more of our products are they demanding; the American corn and cotton growers are beginning to cry out for free trade, in order that they may be able to sell us more of their corn and cotton in exchange for more of our productions; and, lastly, our own people are increasing rapidly in numbers; and as they do so, they also require more and still more from our manufacturing districts. All this must of necessity rapidly and prodigiously develope our commercial and our manufacturing system. It will augment the numbers of our operative population faster and faster, and will enormously swell the size of our manufacturing towns, and the crowd of labourers in the sea-port towns and in the manufacturing and mining districts.

To those who know, from personal experience, what the present state of those districts is, their further growth in their present condition is a terrible alternative. Upon the way in which we legislate for them during the next twenty years, depends the fate of the British Empire.

Times of terrible distress must necessarily recur at regular intervals, owing, partly, to the gluts of foreign and of home markets, produced by the ever-increasing rapidity of production by machines, and partly, also, to

the disturbance of the markets by bad harvests, by wars, and by periodical speculations.

But if the population should increase in those districts during the next twenty years, as it inevitably will do, and if no *vast* plan is carried into operation, whereby to raise the moral and religious tone of those districts, it is frightful to contemplate what may be the result in some season of distress of concentrating such a mass of such a people as the present operatives upon so small an area.

I have already shown the condition of the labourers of this country, and the neglected state of the juvenile population of the towns.

What are we doing to remedy this state of things, and to prepare for the future?

I will give a short summary of the present state of primary education in England and Wales, as collected from the reports, of Her Majesty's Inspectors, of the Commissioners of Inquiry in Wales, of the National Society, of the Statistical Society, and of the city mission; from Mr. Redgrave's reports from some very able articles in the North British Review and from numerous personal inquiries in various parts of England and Wales.

1. It has been calculated that there are at the present day, in England and Wales, nearly 8,000,000 persons who cannot read and write.

2. Of all the children in England and Wales, between the ages of five and fourteen, more than the half* are not attending any school.

* The following table was put into my hands in the autumn of 1849, by the Rev. Charles Richson, clerk in orders of the Cathedral of Man-

3. Even of the class of the farmers, there are great numbers who cannot read and write.

4. Even of those children of the poor, who have received some instruction, very few know anything of geography, history, science, music, or drawing. Their instruction in the village schools has hitherto generally consisted of nothing more than a little practice in reading, writing, and Scripture history.

5. Of the teachers, who are officiating in many of the village schools, there are many who cannot read and write correctly, and who know very little of the Bible, which they profess to explain to their scholars.

6. A very great part of our present village and town-schools are managed by poor and miserably instructed dames, who thus seek to make a livelihood, and who literally do no good to the children, except it be keeping

chester, as representing the state of the education of the poor in Manchester in that year. If such is the state of the education of the poor in this town, where so much has been done of late years, it may be comprehended what its state is, in the poorer and less intelligent districts of this country.

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL AND PARISH CHURCH DISTRICT.

Return of the Children of the Poor, between the Ages of Three and Fifteen, in the District between Long Millgate and Shudehill, attending Day School or otherwise.

No. of Families visited.	No. of Children between 3 & 10	No. of Children between 10 & 15	No. of Children attending some Day School.	No. of Children at work.	No. of Children at Home from various excuses except poverty. A	No. of Children at Home from alleged poverty. B	No. of Children who have *never* been at Day School, out of Tables A and B.
917	1693	518	754	392	625	440	* 407
			1146		1065		
Total.	§ 2211		2211				* Between 3 & 15

§ Many of these go to Sunday School.

them for a certain number of hours in the day out of the dirt and out of worse society.

7. Many of these dame schools are so wretchedly managed, as to do the children a very great deal more harm than good,—by uniting miserable associations with the sacred writings, and with the subjects of the wretched instruction given in these schools.

8. Very many of our town-schools are held in small and unventilated cellars or garrets, where the health of the children is seriously impaired.

9. If we except only the *worst* part of the dame-schools, we have not even then *one-half* as many school-buildings as we require, for the *present* numbers of our population.

10. By far the greatest part of our school-buildings have only *one* room, in which all the classes are instructed together, in the midst of noise and foul air.

11. Many of our present school-rooms have no forms and no parallel desks,—both of which are to be found in every school-room throughout Western Europe,—and in all such schools the children are kept standing the whole day.

12. Very few of our school-rooms are properly supplied with maps, books, or school apparatus.

13. The majority of our town-schools have no playgrounds; and in all these cases the children are turned out into the streets during the hours of recreation.

14. Scarcely any schools throughout the country have more than *two* class-rooms; the classification of the children is therefore very deficient, and the instruction is thereby much impaired.

15. Very few schools have more than one teacher.

16. Great numbers of parishes and districts throughout England and Wales have no school-room at all, and no place, in which their children can be instructed.

17. Of these latter districts, many are too poor or too careless to raise anything towards the erection of school-buildings, and in none of these cases does the Committee of Council give any assistance.

18. In many other districts, the inhabitants are so divided in religious opinions, that they find it impossible to act in concert, in providing for the education of their children, and in these cases the Committee of Council renders no assistance.

19. In most of our schools, it is necessary in order to provide salaries for the teacher, and funds for the support of the school, to charge from 2*d.* to 4*d.* a week per head for the instruction of scholars. This absolutely excludes the children of all paupers, and of all poor persons, who cannot afford to pay so much out of their small earnings, whilst throughout the greatest part of Western Europe, the education afforded in the primary schools is quite gratuitous.

20. There is no public provision for the proper payment and maintenance of our teachers, and these latter are therefore generally placed in so very humiliating and dependent a position, as in many cases virtually to prevent any man of ability and education from accepting such an office.

21. A great part of our village teachers are only poor uneducated women, or poor men who are not fit

for any other office or employment, and who are themselves miserably educated.*

* To give an idea of the character of the teachers' profession in this country, I append here a remarkable and curious statement taken from Mr. Lingen's very able report on the state of education in South Wales. The present average age of teachers is upwards of 40 years; that at which they commenced their vocation upwards of 30; the number trained is 12·5 per cent. of the whole ascertained number; the average period of training is 7·80 months; the average income is 22l. 10s. 9d. per annum; besides which 16·1 per cent. have a house rent-free. Before adopting their present profession, 6 had been assistants in schools, 3 attorneys' clerks, 1 attorney's clerk and sheriff's officer, 1 apprentice to an ironmonger, 1 assistant to a draper, 1 agent, 1 artilleryman, 1 articled clerk, 2 accountants, 1 auctioneer's clerk, 1 actuary in a saving bank, 3 bookbinders, 1 butler, 1 barber, 1 blacksmith, 4 bonnet-makers, 2 booksellers, 1 bookkeeper, 15 commercial clerks, 3 colliers, 1 cordwainer, 7 carpenters, 1 compositor, 1 copyist, 3 cabinetmakers, 8 cooks, 1 coal-dealer, 3 druggists, 48 milliners, 20 domestic servants, 10 drapers, 4 excisemen, 61 farmers, 25 farm-servants, 1 farm-bailiff, 1 fisherman, 2 governesses, 7 grocers, 1 glover, 1 gardener, 177 at home or in school, 1 herald-chaser, 4 housekeepers, 2 hatters, 1 helper in a stable, 18 hucksters or shopkeepers, 1 ironroller, 6 joiners, 1 knitter, 13 labourers, 4 laundresses, 1 limeburner, 1 lay-vicar, 5 ladies' maids, 1 lieutenant R.N., 2 land-surveyors, 22 mariners, 1 millwright, 108 married women, 7 ministers, 1 mechanic, 1 miner, 2 mineral agents, 5 masons, 1 mate, 1 malster, 1 militia-man, 1 musician, 1 musical-wiredrawer, 2 nursery-maids, 1 night-schoolmaster, 1 publican's wife (separated from her husband), 2 preparing for the church, 1 policeman, 1 pedlar, 1 publican, 1 potter, 1 purser's steward, 1 planter, 2 private tutors, 1 quarryman, 1 reed-thatcher, 28 sempstresses, 1 second master R.N., 4 soldiers, 14 shoemakers, 2 machine-weighers, 1 stonecutter, 1 sergeant of marines, 1 sawyer, 1 surgeon, 1 ship's cook, 7 tailors, 1 tailor and marine, 1 tiler, 17 widows, 4 weavers, and 60 unascertained, or having had no previous occupation.

In connection with the vocation of teacher, 2 follow that of assistant-overseer of roads, 6 are assistant-overseers of the poor, 1 accountant, 1 assistant parish-clerk, 1 bookbinder, 1 broom and clog-maker, 4 bonnet makers, 1 sells Berlin wool, 2 are cow-keepers, 3 collectors of taxes, 1 drover (in summer), 12 dress-makers, 1 druggist, 1 farmer, 4 grocers, 3 hucksters or shopkeepers, 1 inspector of weights and measures, 1

22. In proportion to our population, we have scarcely one-fourth part as many colleges for the instruction of teachers, as any of the countries of Western Europe; and not one-fourth part as many are necessary for the education of a sufficient number of teachers for our poor.

23. In nearly all the few colleges we have established for the instruction of teachers, the education is very limited and meagre in its character; as these colleges depend upon voluntary aid, and cannot afford to give the students more than a year's or eighteen months' training; while throughout Western Europe the teachers receive *three years'* training in the teachers' colleges at the expense of the government.

24. The colleges we have established are so poor, that they cannot afford to support nearly so large and complete a staff of teachers and professors as are to be found in almost all the teachers' colleges throughout Western Europe.

25. A great part of our schools and teachers are never visited by any public inspector, or by any private person, or committee of persons from the year's beginning to the year's end. In many of these cases,

knitter, 2 land-surveyors (one of them is also a stone-cutter), 2 lodging-house keepers, 1 librarian to a mechanics' institute, 16 ministers, 1 master of a workhouse, 1 matron of a lying-in hospital, 3 mat-makers, 13 preachers, 18 parish or vestry-clerks (uniting in some instances the office of sexton), 1 printer and engraver, 1 porter, barber, and layer-out of the dead in a workhouse, 4 publicans, 1 registrar of marriages, 11 sempstresses, 1 shopman (on Saturdays), 8 secretaries to benefit-societies, 1 sexton, 2 shoemakers, 1 tailor, 1 teacher of modern languages, 1 turnpike-man, 1 tobacconist, 1 writing-master in a grammar-school, and 9 are in receipt of parochial relief."

bad teachers are left to do great injury to their scholars unchecked and unheard of, and in many other cases, good and able teachers are left without encouragement or advice, to labour on unknown, disheartened and alone.

26. In most of our schools, owing to the teacher either not having been trained at all, or not having been educated for a long enough time in a college, the methods of teaching are miserable and ridiculous. The noise in the school-rooms is often so great, that it is with difficulty that any individual can make himself heard. The children are often kept standing the greater part of the day, and are wearied beyond endurance, so that the lessons, and all the associations connected with the subjects of instruction are rendered hateful ever afterwards. The highest religious subjects are thus often made odious to the children, who during their after life avoid as much as possible recurring to what awakens so many disagreeable recollections. In most of our schools, there is little or no attempt to interest the children in their studies, or to teach them to think or reason. The instruction is mere parrot work. They are taught by rote, and forget again almost as soon as they have left the school.

27. Great numbers of the school-buildings in the more remote country districts are of the most wretched and miserable character.

An idea of some of these may be formed from the following descriptions, selected from the able report of Mr. Lingen on the state of education in South Wales,

published in 1848. These are fair specimens of schools, which may be found throughout England and Wales.

Mr. Lingen says: "There was no room for making furniture and apparatus separate considerations in most of the schools throughout the remoter districts, exhibiting, as they did, every form of squalid destitution. I subjoin a few instances out of many others perhaps more striking.

Of one school, he says: —

"The furniture consisted of one desk for the master, two longer ones for the pupils, and a few benches, all in a wretched state of repair. The room was not ceiled. In one corner was a heap of spars, the property of the master, for the purpose of thatching his house. In another place was a heap of culm, emptied out on the floor. The floor was boarded, but all the middle of it was in holes."

Of another, he says: —

"The school was held in a miserable room over the stable; it was lighted by two small glazed windows, and was very low; in one corner were a broken bench, some sacks, and a worn-out basket; another corner was boarded off for storing tiles and mortar belonging to the chapel. The furniture consisted of three small square tables, one for the master, two larger ones for the children, and a few benches, all in a wretched state of repair. There were several panes of glass broken in the windows; in one place paper served the place of glass, and in another a slate, to keep out wind and rain; the door was also in a very dilapidated condition. On the beams

which crossed the room were a ladder and two large poles.

Of another, he says: —

"The school was held in a room built in a corner of the churchyard; it was an open-roofed room; the floor was of the bare earth, and very uneven; the room was lighted by two small glazed windows, one third of each of which was patched up with boards. The furniture consisted of a small square table for the master, one square table for the pupils, and seven or eight benches, some of which were in good repair, and others very bad. The biers belonging to the church were placed on the beams which ran across the room. At one end of the room was a heap of coal and some rubbish and a worn-out basket, and on one side was a new door leaning against the wall, and intended for the stable belonging to the church. The door of the school-room was in a very bad condition, there being large holes in it, through which cold currents of air were continually flowing."

Of another, he says: —

"This school is held in a dark miserable den under the town-hall; the furniture comprised only a few old benches and tables; in the corner was a litter of broken cups and a bottle; there was a starling of the master's loose in the room, which, by flying about, greatly disturbed the children during my visit."

Of another, he says: —

"In one corner was a heap of culm, in another a bench or two, piled against the wall, and various litter; at the bottom of the room lay a gravestone, on which the master had been chalking the letters which the vil-

lage mason was to cut as an inscription; on the table lay a jug and pipe."

I might quote endless instances to prove the miserable character and ill effects of the present school-buildings in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. Indeed, Report after Report is too often only a wearisome repetition of such particulars. It will suffice for me to subjoin a few instances, by way of illustration, taking them almost at hazard.

Of another school, he says:—

"The school was held in a room, part of a dwelling-house; the room was so small that a great many of the scholars were obliged to go into the room above, which they reached by means of a ladder, through a hole in the loft; the room was lighted by one small glazed window, half of which was patched up with boards; it was altogether a wretched place; the furniture consisted of one table, in a miserable condition, and a few broken benches; the floor was in a very bad state, there being several large holes in it, some of them nearly half a foot deep; the room was so dark that the few children whom I heard read were obliged to go to the door, and open it, to have sufficient light."

Of another, he says:—

"This school is held in the mistress's house. I never shall forget the hot, sickening smell, which struck me on opening the door of that low dark room, in which thirty girls and twenty boys were huddled together. It more nearly resembled the smell of the engine on board a steamer, such as it is felt by a sea-sick voyager on passing near the funnel. Exaggerated as this may ap-

pear, I am writing on the evening of the same day on which I visited the school, and I will vouch for the accuracy of what I state. Every thing in the room (*i. e.* a few benches of various heights and sizes, and a couple of tables) was hidden under and overlaid with children."

Of another, he says: —

"This school is held in a ruinous hovel of the most squalid and miserable character; the floor is of bare earth, full of deep holes; the windows are all broken; a tattered partition of lath and plaster divides it into two unequal portions; in the larger were a few wretched benches, and a small desk for the master in one corner; in the lesser was an old door, with the hasp still upon it, laid crossways upon two benches, about half a yard high, to serve for a writing-desk! Such of the scholars as write retire in pairs to this part of the room, and kneel on the ground while they write. On the floor was a heap of loose coal, and a litter of straw, paper, and all kinds of rubbish. The vicar's son informed me that he had seen eighty children in this hut. In summer the heat of it is said to be suffocating; and no wonder."

Of another, he says: —

"In the school-room, which, at six square feet per child, is calculated to hold 28 scholars, I found 59 present, and 74 on the books: some of the children are drafted off into the master's dwelling-house."

Of another, he says: —

"The school is held in a room over the stable, which is a very small one. The children were much crowded.

There was a very comfortable fire in the room on the day of my visit. Some 10 or 12 of the senior boys were obliged to sit in the adjoining chapel, on account of the smallness of the room. The chapel had no fire in it, and was very cold and uncomfortable."

Of another, he says:—

"The school-room is part of a dwelling-house, on the ground-floor, and the smell arising from so many children being crammed in such a small room was quite overpowering. There was a large fire in the grate at the time. The window was a small one, and was kept closed. The floor, walls, and the room altogether were in bad repair. I observed, after the scholars went out at noon (for there was no seeing anything but children while they were in the room), 1 square table for the master, 2 long tables for the writers and cipherers, 5 benches, and 1 chair."

Of another, he says:—

"This school is kept upstairs in two rooms of the master's house. There is a door to each room from the landing at the top of the stairs, but the master cannot see all the scholars from one room while they are in the other. He generally sits with the elementary classes."

Of another, he says:—

"The floor was of the bare earth, very uneven and rather damp. There was a fire in an iron stove placed in the middle of the room. The steam which arose from it was quite insufferable, so much so that I was obliged to keep both door and window open to enable me to breathe. The master remarked that it was 'bad to a stranger, but nothing to those who were used to it.'"

Of another, he says:—

"This school is held in the church. I found the master and four little children ensconced in the chancel, amidst a lumber of old tables, benches, and desks, round a three-legged grate full of burning sticks, with no sort of funnel or chimney for the smoke to escape. It made my eyes smart till I was nearly blinded, and kept covering with ashes the paper on which I was writing. How the master and children bore it with so little apparent inconvenience I cannot tell."

Of another, he says:—

"The day-school (which used to be held in private houses) is now held in an old Independent chapel, no longer used for religious purposes, and rented by the master. There was a raised hearth of brick in the room, with a grate on the top, but no chimney. There was a fire of culm burning on it; the heat and vapour made the room almost insufferable to one coming from the fresh air."

Of another, he says:—

"The floor of the chapel was of earth and lime, very uneven and broken: it contained a few pews, a pulpit, a table, and a couple of desks, with a few benches in use, others being heaped together at one end of the chapel; there was a grate full of culm* in the middle of the chapel, but no chimney."

Of another, he says:—

"The room in which this school is held is a most

* This is the name of the common fuel in Wales, which is anthracite coal made up into balls with clay. It burns without smoke, but with a glowing vapour like charcoal.

miserable hut, not fit to shelter cattle in, as the thatched roof would be anything but proof against bad weather. The master said that he often suffered from the rain; and there were large quantities of straw inside the roof to shelter in some degree himself and pupils."

Of another, he says: —

"The boys' free school was held in a most miserable hovel, lighted by four small windows. The floor was of the bare earth and excessively damp. The door was in a very dilapidated state, and the rain was coming through the thatch when I was in the school-room."

Of others, he says: —

"I am about to enter on one of the most painful subjects of my inquiry. It is a disgusting fact that, out of 692 schools, I found 364, or 52·6 per cent., utterly unprovided with privies."

These are not isolated instances. I could quote hundreds of such descriptions of schools situated in all parts of England and Wales. I have myself seen many which are held in cellars, garrets, chapels, and kitchens, badly warmed, wretchedly ventilated, dirty, unfurnished, dark, damp, and unhealthy. Are the miserable hours spent in these miserable places likely to leave good impressions afterwards? Are they likely to create happy, moral, and healthy ideas and associations in the minds of the children? Are they likely to make the children love what they learned in such scenes and places, and remember it with reverence and with a desire to act upon it afterwards? Are they not much rather likely to make the children hate and shun everything which would remind them of the school and the miserable school-day?

28. By far the greatest majority of the criminals who are convicted every year in England and Wales, are persons *who have never been educated at all.* Very few persons, who have received even a tolerable education, are found among the great numbers annually committed.

29. Whilst throughout the agricultural districts of Western Europe, the children remain in school until they have completed their fourteenth year, and very often until they have completed their sixteenth year, very few even of those children who go to school at all in our agricultural districts continue to attend school beyond their ninth year; whilst very many do not continue to attend them beyond their eighth year. So that of the children of the poor, who do go to school in England and Wales, the greatest number discontinue their attendance long before they have received anything worthy the name of education.

30. The present system is bearing very unfairly, and very oppressively upon many conscientious and benevolent clergymen in the remote rural districts.

The nation is entirely ignorant of the almost marvellous efforts which some of the clergy are making in the remote rural districts, to provide schools for the poor.

Many poor clergymen, with not 150*l.* of annual income, are out of that small stipend supporting their schools and teachers themselves, wholly unaided either by the public or by their neighbours. How they can do it God only knows, but that many of them, in all parts of the country, do effect this prodigy of self-denial,

all the inspectors unanimously attest. These good men receive and expect no public praise as their reward. They are labouring unheard of, and unknown by their fellows, and are looking for their reward to Heaven alone.

But what a disgrace it is to us, as a nation, to impose such a burden upon any of our clergy! What a shame it is, that the small stipend of a religious and benevolent man should be made still smaller, by forcing him to pay, what ought to be borne by the nation at large! And what a precarious means of support for these schools! It is not reasonable to expect, that each succeeding incumbent can or will be equally self-denying; and when one fails to give the accustomed support, such a school must necessarily be closed.

Such is a short summary of the state of education of the poor in England and Wales, as attested by the inspectors of schools, by the government and by the clergy. Whilst foreign countries, by the aid of the central authority, have established such perfect systems, and have accomplished such magnificent results, the system of leaving the education of a nation dependent upon the efforts of charitable individuals finds us, in 1849, in the situation which I have described.

I have shown in Chap. IX. of this work, that, notwithstanding the very large size of the primary schools in the towns of Germany and Switzerland (many of them containing as many as *ten* class-rooms and *ten* teachers, and scarcely any containing fewer than *four* class-rooms), there were: —

In Prussia

1 primary school for every 653 inhabitants.
1 teacher for every 522
1 normal college for every 377,360

In Saxony

1 primary school for every 900 inhabitants.
1 teacher for every 588 „
1 normal college for every 214,975 „

In Bavaria

1 primary school for 508 inhabitants.
1 teacher for every 603 „
1 normal college for every 550,000 „

In the Duchy of Baden

1 primary school for every 700 inhabitants.
1 normal college for every 500,000 „

In Switzerland

1 teacher for every 480 inhabitants.
1 normal college for every 176,923 „

In France

1 primary school for every 568 inhabitants.
1 teacher for every 446 „
1 normal college for every 356,564 „

and that supposing we required fewer schools, fewer teachers, and fewer normal colleges than any other country, and that we should be sufficiently provided if we had

1 primary school for every 700 inhabitants.
1 teacher for every 600 „
1 normal college for every 400,000 „

we should then require, for our population,

23,581 *large* schools,
26,500 teachers, and
41 normal colleges.

There are four principal defects in our present edu-

cational system, which I would here more particularly notice.

I. THE WANT OF NORMAL COLLEGES.

When all the normal colleges in course of erection are completed, there will then be only sixteen in the whole of England and Wales. There are only twelve colleges finished, while at the very lowest computation we require forty-one,—each capable of accommodating one hundred students and six professors,—if we are to have a sufficient supply of educated teachers. We should not even then have so many colleges in proportion to the numbers of our population, as the greater part of Western Europe.

Most of the counties and several of the most populous dioceses of this country have no normal college at all, and are obliged to content themselves with teachers, who have never received anything worthy the name of education, and who are as fit to manage a school and teach children, as they are to drill and command a regiment. Nearly all these men do their scholars much more harm than good.

The smallness of the numbers of our normal colleges is felt all the more, in consequence of the small number of efficient teachers at present in the primary schools, and of the constant change going on in their ranks, owing to the smallness of their pay, and the abject dependence of their situations.

The great demand for teachers, and the imperfect ideas at present afloat of the character of the education required to make an efficient schoolmaster, are rendering several of the few colleges, which have been founded in this

country, quite worthless; for the directors of some of these establishments, imagining that it is better to supply a great number of inefficient teachers than a smaller number of efficient and well-educated instructors, or perhaps ignorant of what ought to be expected from a teacher, permit the young students to leave and undertake the charge of primary schools after a year's, and in some cases after six months' residence! Mr. Coleridge, on the contrary, justly considers that the most important duty of the principal of a normal college is, to form the *habits* and *disposition* of his students, and he is well convinced of the soundness of the conclusion, to which all foreign countries have come, viz. that it is ridiculous to hope to remodel the *habits* of a young man, to inspire him with high and religious aims, and to instruct him sufficiently for the important post of a teacher in the short space of twelve months. The greater part of the first year's residence at the normal college is always required, for the *preparation* of the student's mind, for what is *afterwards* to be instilled. It is the *second*, and still more the *third* year, which is the most valuable period for the development of his character, and for the education of his mind. If we could have more than this, it would be really advisable, but certainly we ought not to have less.

A long training in the normal college not only makes the future teacher much more efficient, but it ensures his remaining longer at his post; for the more thoroughly the habits of his mind are moulded to his future occupations, and the more thoroughly we habituate him to the peculiar life that is marked out

for him, the less capable will he be afterwards of changing his career. To imagine, that we can in *twelve months* not only sufficiently instruct, but also religiously and morally educate a young man,—that in *twelve months*, we can change or remodel the habits of his mind, or instil into him so strong an enthusiasm for his profession, as to make him proof against the temptations to forsake it that will present themselves,—is perfectly absurd. Vehrli of Kreuitzlingen, the Frères Chrétiens of Paris, and those master trainers, the Jesuits, all tell us a very different tale.

It would be much better to turn out fewer and more efficient teachers, — men who would be unwilling afterwards to forsake their posts,— than to send out a set of pedantic young men, who have gained a little knowledge and no new habits in the normal schools, and who will be ready to forsake their profession whenever they can do so with advantage to themselves.

Mr. Coleridge, in an interesting report on the normal school at Stanley Grove, speaking of the plan of training teachers, says, that it "proposes *to form* the character, both generally and with especial reference to the scholastic office. Thus principally, yet at the same time to give them every *appropriate* acquirement,— in fact, a very much larger amount of acquirements (though this be a subordinate end) than could be otherwise commanded. Agreeably to this idea, *youths* only are admitted and are kept in training for a period of time measured by years, not months. The force of habit and association—early and long-continued impressions—favourable influences of many kinds—the

daily sight and sound of good—the means and opportunity of discipline, moral, physical, and intellectual—such are the advantages, which in this way it is intended to secure; and to these are added every facility for special instruction. Yet must this statement be received with limitation. The object is indeed to *form* the character; yet, as the institution cannot be open to children or very young boys, a groundwork of good must have been laid beforehand. There must be evident signs of towardness in the youth at his admission; for though much may be done for him afterwards, *much* cannot be undone. It is not a school of correction. The principle of selection, therefore, cannot be dispensed with—it rather stands out with increased force."

It will not be necessary for me to speak of the pretended system of training for six months. The utter fallacy of the idea is self-apparent, and still more when instruction only, without any good domestic training, is given, as in some of our so-called training establishments.

But can we do without normal colleges?—I might just as well ask, can we do without teachers? I see no difference whatsoever between the questions. We can do without them certainly, if we are resolved not to educate the people. *We may as well hope to educate the people by means of teachers, who have never been trained, as to educate them without schools.* Or, if education consists in merely teaching to read and write, and forcing instruction into the child by means of the ruler and the cane, then we may do without

normal colleges. Or, if the profession of a teacher is one, for which *any one* is fitted, and to which *any one* may turn as his last shift in the world for obtaining a decent maintenance, then we may do without normal colleges: or, if it is impossible for a badly organised school to do harm, and most grievous harm, and to demoralise, instead of improving youth, then we may do without normal colleges. In short, if the education of the people is a visionary scheme, on which none but enthusiasts speculate, or, if it is doubtful, whether it will advance the cause of religion, morality, prudence, foresight, and order; or, if it is merely a plaything, wherewith to soothe and gratify the people, then assuredly we have no need of normal colleges. But I think very differently of education combined with good government. I look to Europe, and regard the mighty change, which has, since 1800, been wrought in the character of the Swiss, German, and Dutch people, and the great difference between them and the Italians, and I feel confident, it is no dream to hope and believe, that we might effect the same in our own land, if we adopted similar means. But, so long as we commit the education of the poor to a set of men, as ignorant and low-minded as the majority of our present primary teachers are, so long, instead of advancing, we shall positively retard the moral progress of the people. Mere instruction, unaccompanied with the true development of the mind,—the moral and religious education of the man,—is a positive harm. It awakens his intellect sufficiently to render it a powerful and dangerous auxiliary to his unbridled and to his unruly passions; whilst

the religious and humanising influences of his soul remaining dormant, leave him like a vessel with its canvas spread, but without a rudder, on a dark and stormy sea. He is then no longer dull, stupid, and totally without capabilities of reasoning, as the labourers in our agricultural districts, but sufficiently enlightened to indulge, not only the mere sensual appetites and demands of his ill-governed body, but the restless, wild, and rebellious promptings of his scarce-awakened and unreflecting mind.

The establishment of normal colleges is of such great importance, that the efficiency of the education of our poor may be considered wholly ruined, so long as we are unsupplied with them; and the efficiency of the normal colleges themselves is destroyed, so long as we continue to send out teachers from them after a twelve-months' training.

II. THE WANT OF A CERTAIN AND SUFFICIENT MAINTENANCE AND OF AN HONOURABLE POSITION IN SOCIETY FOR THE TEACHERS.

Let me ask, is there any thing, if we consider the *majority* of the existing English schools, without choosing out certain honourable exceptions, — is there any thing in the present situation of a village schoolmaster in this country, to tempt a well educated man to engage in such a despised and laborious profession, as long as any hope remains of his earning an independent livelihood by any honest, however humble trade?

Is the pay in the majority of the schools good enough? — Is the support and encouragement the teacher receives from the rich and powerful sufficient to compen-

sate for the want of good pay? — Is the honour paid to the profession of a teacher in England great enough to make up for all or any of the other disadvantages? — Is the want of education so fully undertood by the poor themselves, as to insure the teacher their gratitude at least, for his exertions? Is not the contrary of all these suppositions too true?

The salaries in most cases are miserable, and in very many cases so poor, as to oblige the teacher to follow other occupations in connection with his office, in order to gain a livelihood. The teachers in the schools have therefore in most cases hitherto been men or women of such very miserable education, and so utterly ignorant of the nature of their duties, that the name of "schoolmaster" has almost become a byword and reproach; whilst the importance of their work has been so little understood by either the gentry or the poor, that in many cases, they have received no encouragement from the former, while by the latter they have been almost wholly neglected. I know that of late years a great change has been effected, but still it is to be remembered, as I have before said, that hardly one *half* of the country is properly supplied with schools, and that of this half, there are many schools directed by dames or half-educated men, or which are the private enterprises of vulgar and low-minded men, who having failed in every other attempt to gain an honest livelihood, have turned to school-keeping as to their last resource.

In very many cases, I might perhaps say with truth, in nearly one-half of the schools now in existence, the incomes are too poor to induce any *man* to accept the

place of teacher, so that the wives of peasants or common mechanics manage them, — women, who have not had the least previous training, and who have all their domestic concerns to attend to while they conduct the imperfect *instruction* of their classes. What is the character of the education given in these schools? Reading, the poorest and most meagre description of writing, a little arithmetic and the most injudicious and injurious description of religious instruction. Whether I am right or not in setting down this class of schools, as answering the description *of half* our present supply of primary schools, I will not say; but it is notable, that the majority of those established in the agricultural districts are only "dame" schools.

Then how are the salaries of the teachers obtained? Generally, either entirely from the precarious and uncertain pay of the scholars, or partly from this source, and partly from a small yearly sum proceeding, either from the school endowments, or from the voluntary subscriptions of inhabitants of the locality, or from the liberality and exertions of the clergyman.

What is the consequence? Even supposing that the teacher is a well-educated man, which is very rarely the case, he is entirely and wholly dependent on the caprices, either of the clergyman of the parish, or of the local subscriber or subscribers to the school, or of the parents of his scholars. Now, although it is most important that the religious ministers should be *ex officio* inspectors of their schools and of the religious instruction given there, still it does seem to me, that it is putting the teacher into a most invidious position, to

subject him to the uncontrolled caprice of any individuals of his locality. What is and what must often be the consequence of such a position? It very often happens, that the teacher of a school, from his previous training, supposing him to have had any, knows very much more about the minor details of school ma nagement, than either the clergyman or the inhabitants of the locality. In such cases he very naturally wishes to follow out the directions, which have been given him, by the learned professors of the normal college where he was educated. If the clergyman who has not been educated in pedagogy, should think differently, a dispute often ensues on some point of school management, and either the parish dismisses an able teacher, or the teacher is rendered discontented, and is hindered in the improvement and instruction of his children. As long as his position is one of such dependence on the whims of those about him, his usefulness and contentment must both be lessened. There ought always to be an impartial arbitrator between the teacher and those who object to his method of instruction, &c.; and that arbitrator ought to be well educated in pedagogy, and removed above the influence of personal enmities and personal vexation. Whether this arbitration be vested in the government, or in the school societies in London, it matters little; but it certainly ought to be vested in some person or persons at a distance, who might defend the teachers against unreasonable caprices, and at the same time take care that they performed their duty, and that all sound objections to them were immediately attended to. To leave them in their present posi-

tion is to cripple their powers of doing good, and to make the profession contemptible in the eyes of every honest, independent, and intelligent man.

In all foreign countries this evil is most carefully guarded against. The teachers cannot be discharged from their situations, unless the central power concurs with the local authorities; but every complaint of the local committees, or of the local clergy, is *immediately* attended to; their causes are investigated by the inspectors, and full redress is afforded for every real grievance. In Germany, as I have shown, the parochial clergy are *ex officio* inspectors of their several schools; and if the teacher neglects his duty, or is guilty of any unbecoming conduct, they have first the right of reprimanding him; and if that reprimand fails in convincing him of the impropriety of his conduct, they can report him to the inspector of the district, who immediately examines into the complaints, and then, if he finds those complaints well founded, he reports to the provincial consistory, which at once dismisses the teacher. In this way, the clergy are insured good teachers, and these latter are defended against the whims and caprices of peevish or ignorant clergy. In France, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland, the teachers are also most carefully protected from subjection to local influence; whilst in all these countries local influence and local superintendence are considered most necessary adjuncts to the moderating influence of the central power.

If a teacher feels, that his continuance in office depends entirely on the pleasure of people, who are living near him, his independence and honesty are generally

diminished; his power of doing good is curtailed; his satisfaction with his work and with his situation is lessened; his own education in a college is in a great measure thrown away, by making others, who have not been so educated, the directors of the instruction given in his schools. It degrades and enervates the teacher to subject him so entirely, as we now do, to the influence of any local authority, which is much oftener exercised in a manner biased by personal feelings, than that of some person living at a distance. Of course, if we are to employ teachers as uneducated and low-minded as the majority of those employed at the present day, it makes little matter by whom the control of them is exercised; but *if* we are desirous to make the office such, that men, like those educated by Sir James P. Kay Shuttleworth at Battersea, or by Mr. Coleridge at Stanley Grove, shall be willing to accept it; and if we are desirous of increasing the efficiency of such men, when they have accepted situations, we must alter this state of things.

Besides this, good salaries ought to be provided for the teachers, independent of the school-pence, or *schulgeld*, as the Germans call it; and the amount of these payments ought to be defined by other authorities than the school-masters, whilst these latter should be interested in the increase of the numbers of their scholars, by being permitted to receive, as additions to their fixed incomes, the school-pence of all their children. At the same time it ought to be provided here, as in France, and Germany, and Holland, that when the parents are

really too poor to pay these small sums, their children should be allowed to attend the school free of expense.

But what will be the consequence of our pursuing our present course, of leaving the payment of the teachers entirely dependent on the precarious payments of individuals? Why, so long as we do this, the educated men, who leave our normal colleges, will find scarcely any situations worth their taking; and if they do accept some of the present miserable places, it will be with discontented, and justly discontented minds, and with a resolution to leave as soon as the term of their apprenticeship is ended. For we need not think, that good situations will be wanting to them. There are plenty of warehouses in Lancashire where, with their education, they would be received with joy, and where they would obtain 50*l.*, 80*l.*, or 100*l.* per annum, for work not one-half so laborious as the management of a village school. The difficulty of applying for and obtaining such places exists no longer. The letter of application for a place in Manchester, sent by a schoolmaster of the south, formerly cost 14*d.* or 15*d.*, or even 18*d.*; now that letter may be sent for 1*d.*; and the journey, which a few years back, from its expensiveness and tediousness, was a positive check on emigration to those great and ever-increasing fields of labour, may now be accomplished, even from the shores of Sussex in half a day and for a few shillings.

The Committee of Council has attempted to do something to remedy this state of things; but what can it effect with only 125,000*l.* per annum in its hands, out of which it has to support its system of inspection, to

assist in building schools and colleges, and to aid the teachers of the whole of Great Britain?

We may, however, rest assured that, until we provide a better situation for our teachers, we shall never be able to improve the profession, or to renovate the schools.

An income of at least 50*l.* per annum, the schoolpence, a comfortable house, a garden, and a field for a cow, ought to be *secured* to every teacher; and until these are secured to them, we shall never be able to obtain educated men for the village schools. I know that several of the nobility are paying more than this. There are several instances, which have come under my own observation, where they are paying more than *double* this sum: but then, in these instances, gratifying as they are, there is no *security* for the continuance of this payment; and even if it were certain that each successive head of the house would take an equal interest in the school; yet still the position of the teacher is one of the most distressing dependence, where he is afraid, at each step, of the parents of his scholars misrepresenting him to his patron; where he is fearful at each word of giving offence; and where, consequently, his position is in the highest degree enervating and injurious to his moral character, which ought to be at least as fully developed in him as in any other citizen of the state.

But until the state will come forward and assist the Church and the dissenters, as is done in France, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, in providing for the maintenance of the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, things must go on as at present.

III. THE WANT OF LOCAL AND PUBLIC INSPECTION.

Before I venture to offer any remarks on the necessity of inspection, let me remind my readers of the state of inspection in several of the European nations. In Holland, there are EIGHTY inspectors appointed and paid by government, who have, in reality, the management of the education of the country. In France, besides the local committees of inspection, there is one head inspector in each department; and where the number of schools is too great for one inspector to examine them sufficiently often in the year, one or two assistants are joined to him, according to the size of his department. At present, there are altogether in France 200 inspectors appointed and paid by government; and I find that the number of schools inspected and reported on by them in 1843 was 50,986. In Switzerland, there is in each canton at the seat of government a central board of inspectors, numbering generally about four or five, who have the inspection of all the primary and normal schools of the canton: and in each parish of the canton there is a school society, formed of the parish clergy or priests and several heads of families, who inspect the progress of *each individual* child in the commune and report to the central board, who in their turn report to the government. In Prussia, the clergy or priests are *ex-officio* inspectors of their respective parish schools, whilst there is also in each union a regular inspector, appointed by government, whose duty it is to visit all the primary schools of his canton several times in the year, and to report on them

to a magistrate of the department within which his canton lies. This magistrate is also the general inspector of the department; he can, if he thinks it necessary, visit any of the schools or normal colleges in his department; he corresponds with the inspectors of the cantons in his department and with the parochial clergy, receives their reports, and reports himself to government on the state of education in his department. The same plan is also followed out in all the other German states; and in Bavaria, with only 4,000,000 of inhabitants, there are 286 inspectors.

Now, the very fact of this general adoption in foreign countries of the plan of a central and local inspection, is an *à priori* argument in its favour; and whoever reads the reports of the few inspectors we have yet appointed in England and Wales, will clearly understand, much better than from any thing I can say, the necessity of this encouragement and assistance to the clergy and teachers of this country. Where the religious minister is a good and zealous man, the school is certain to receive some part of his attention; but in very many cases it is not possible for him to visit it often; whilst from the trustees of the school, gentlemen engaged sometimes in the pursuit of pleasure, and sometimes in business or in the management of estates, there is often still less chance of the teacher receiving any notice, advice, or encouragement. If the teacher is a really honest man, and sincerely desirous of promoting the good of the school, he may perhaps go on tolerably well without any supervision; but how much more encouraged would even such an one feel, if he knew that

there was some one to whom he could always apply for advice, and if he felt that his country was watching his exertions, and that his success was certain of meeting with reward and encouragement. France has fully comprehended this; and her government stimulates the exertions of all the teachers by the distribution, annually, of a number of silver and bronze medals to those who are the most praised by the inspectors for the management of their school classes, and for the progress of their children.

But if inspection is an encouragement and a stimulus to good and honest teachers, still more truly is it a check and restraint upon the undeserving. It may be said there is that restraint at present — that there are the religious ministers. This, in some cases, is no doubt true; but will any one deny that there are many cases where the religious ministers are forced, — by their having already far more to attend to than they have time or strength for, — wholly to neglect this additional demand upon their exertions? Will any one deny, also, that where there are lay trustees to a school, who ought to watch the progress of the schoolmaster, the duty of inspecting the school is still more frequently neglected, and that there exist at the present time numerous examples of schools possessing ample funds for the payment of the teacher and the support of the school, which, from the want of some person, whose business it is to visit and inspect them from time to time, and to inquire into the character and conduct of the teachers, — have degenerated in the most distressing manner; the teachers sometimes becoming careless, or

immoral, sometimes neglecting the school altogether, or leaving it in the care of half-instructed monitors, whilst they themselves attend to other concerns; and sometimes venting their evil passions on the children,—thus diminishing the numbers of the school, and positively rendering it to the few, who remain, a miserable recollection, which they associate with the highest and most humanising principles of a Christian education. In this way many schools throughout the country have become hot-beds of immorality, rebellion, and infidelity, and, instead of promoting the progress of religion and civilisation, have been the most fruitful source of the corrupting principles now at work among the poor.

But what is the state of things in England in the *great majority* of the schools throughout the country, with the exception of the 3226 schools now open to the inspection of the Committee of Council? They receive no public inspection, and very often *no local inspection whatever.* To conduct the inspection of all the schools necessary for this country in a *tolerably* efficient manner—I mean in any manner that could be compared to the inspection the Swiss, French, German, Danish, and more particularly the Dutch schools receive—would require a force of at least 150 inspectors for England and Wales, and this force would even then be little more than one half as great, as the number of inspectors now employed by the Bavarian government. How wholly inefficient our present system of inspection is, will appear therefore, when I mention, that there are only 19 inspectors for the whole of England and Wales!

There is still another reason why an official force of inspectors ought to be supported, either by the school societies themselves, or by government, viz. the unfitness of many of the clergy to act as *sole* inspectors of the schools. I will explain myself. Is a gentleman, who has never given his attention to the practical details of school management, who has never studied the respective merits of different methods of teaching, who has never paid any attention to many of what ought to be the subjects of instruction in every school or to the minutiæ of class direction, school order, manners of master, manners of children, and all the numerous details so important to the sound progress of a school, and upon all of which the teacher has been carefully lectured in the normal colleges by able professors, who have themselves given a serious and deep attention to these matters—is, I repeat, a gentleman who has never in his life given any attention to these matters, and who may actually have a fancy for methods and plans of instruction, totally at variance with all that the teacher has been taught, and who at any rate cannot possibly have any good standard of perfection whereby to measure the progress of his school, or the excellence or faultiness of the methods pursued by the teacher—is such a gentleman the best qualified, is he at all qualified to be the *sole* inspector of a school? I say *sole*, because I willingly allow, that although other inspectors are necessary, the clergy and dissenting ministers ought undoubtedly to be *ex-officio* local inspectors of their schools; for they and they alone are the proper guardians, fosterers, and inspectors of the religious part

of national education. On this ground, in Austria, Germany, France, and Switzerland, the parochial clergy and priests are always the *ex-officio* guardians and inspectors of their parochial schools.

What I wish to say is, that this inspection, *wholly indispensable as it is*, is not sufficient. We require, in addition, a body of men who, by constant attention to all the subjects of instruction and to all the minutiæ of school management, and by constant attendance at, and examination of the best normal, model, and parochial schools, should be well-versed in all that is necessary to the perfection of a school, and should thus be able —*in conjunction with* the clergy and ministers of their different districts,—to *advise* and *counsel* the teachers; encourage them to persevere when in a right course, and to check them when pursuing a wrong one; to prevent a school being ruined from want of superintendence and *surveillance*; to stimulate the teachers to renewed exertions by reporting all those who deserved honourable mention, and by thus drawing the attention of the public upon them; to acquaint government of those poor districts, wholly without schools and destitute of local funds, which require its assistance, and in these different ways to guard against the possibility of any district being left to languish without the means of obtaining a sound and Christian education.

The duty of such inspectors would be to advise the teachers and religious ministers; to receive the reports of the latter on the religious and moral conduct of the schools; to act as arbitrators between the teachers and the school committees; to examine the schools, and

to report to the nation on the progress of national education.

This would encourage both teachers and clergy, some of whom in distant parts of the country, unnoticed and forgotten, are making efforts so laudable, so truly noble and so Christian, as to demand the nation's gratitude, of whom we now know little or nothing; but who ought to be held up as bright examples to stimulate others to do likewise. It is to be hoped, that if we ever do arrive at that happy time when the government, the clergy, and the dissenting ministers will aid one another in carrying out this great work, that we shall then adopt that plan, which is pursued with so much advantage in France at the present moment — I mean the awarding of medals signifying the approbation of the sovereign, and through the sovereign, of the people, to those teachers, who labour most successfully in the cause of the education of the people. Our Committee of Council might do it now in the few schools, which are open to them, and conjointly with that, they might publish a short monthly or quarterly official gazette of education, mentioning those, who have gained this recognition of a nation's gratitude, and giving the results of the examinations in the normal colleges for brevets of admission to the profession of schoolmasters, as well as all other interesting intelligence connected with the progress of education during the past month or quarter. Each inspector should be invited to send a short account of the school which he considered most deserving notice in his district, or of some one, in which some ingenious and excellent method of teaching was employed, or a

short treatise on some subject connected with school management. By these means, and especially by encouraging teachers' conferences, of which I have spoken before, the feeling of a great and united body would be encouraged among the teachers; no one would fancy he was forgotten, but each would feel that the country was interested in his individual success.

Nor is this any ideal picture of what national education in England might be, would all but unite in furthering it; for all this, and much more than this, is actually effected abroad, and with the greatest success and happiest results.

I am not aware of any foreign country which has seriously undertaken the education of its people, that has not recognised the absolute necessity of maintaining a large body of efficiont and well-trained inspectors, who should act in concert with the local clergy and local authorities, and who should be at the same time a check upon, and an encouragment to the schoolmasters. Far from wishing these inspectors to be in the stead of local influence, I am only desirous of seeing them acting in unison with the clergy and dissenting ministers, aiding them to foster and promote the moral and religious progress of their several localities. The only reasons we have not long since had an effective body of these inspectors, are, that the state has not sufficiently explained what would be the special duties of those officers; that the clergy have consequently feared that the *surveillance* of their parochial education, which is one of their principal duties, would be taken out of their hands, instead of the inspectors for the Church

being chosen from the clergy themselves, and being directed to act in unison with them; and that the whole country has had far too low an idea of what the education of the people ought to be, so that we have imagined any one fit to be a schoolmaster; that it did not matter what the teacher did, after he was put at the head of the school, and therefore, that he required neither checking nor encouraging in any way or by any person.

I have thus briefly sketched the present state of the means of educating the people of England.

What is the Committee of Council on Education doing to improve this state of things?

When we have scarcely one half as many schools, as we require, not one third as many teachers' colleges as are necessary, and not one third as many inspectors as we require; when many populous districts have no school, and cannot raise any thing towards building one; when most of our teachers are ignorant men or women, and are so poorly paid, that it is hopeless to persuade any well-educated man to take their places; when most of the normal colleges we do possess, are so poor, that they cannot afford to support a sufficient number of professors, or to keep the students long enough to give them an education nearly adequate to fit them for their work; when most of our schools and colleges are wretchedly provided with books, furniture, and apparatus; and when nearly half of our present school-buildings are disgracefully wretched and inefficient; all that our government is doing, is to dole out 125,000*l.* per annum to remedy the nume-

rous and great deficiencies I have mentioned! When one considers the enormous sums, which are being expended annually, both by the governments and parishes of Western Europe, in promoting the education of the poor, and when one regards the present state of education in England, it is hardly possible to believe, that in the nineteenth century the efforts of the English government in this great work should be so miserably and absurdly inefficient. If the Committee of Council is really to remedy the consequences of our past neglect, and to supply us with even a moderately efficient system of public education, it will require funds to the amount of at least 3,000,000*l.* per annum. If it had even this amount of funds at its disposal, it could not even then, under the present system, unless local activity were very much increased, supply us with the means of public education so well, as the educational systems of the countries of Western Europe, combining as they do local and central activity, have supplied those countries.

I would not be understood to disparage in the least the very great and admirable labours of the Committee of Council. Nearly all the advancement which national education has made during the last ten years in this country, may be said to be owing to the labours of men connected with that Committee. Fifteen years ago, before the Committee of Council began to show what national education really meant, and how it was to be effected, there was not a single teachers' college in England or Wales; there were scarcely fifty teachers in either country, who were even *decently* acquainted with the subjects or methods of instruction; the schools

were wretchedly arranged; most of them were *wholly* unfurnished, and without even a desk or form, unventilated, badly situated, and wretchedly built; inspection of schools was not thought of; no one knew its use or its necessity; there was not one inspector in England or Wales; any one was thought good enough to be a teacher; the idea of a previous training being necessary was ridiculed; the subjects of instruction were confined almost always to reading, writing, arithmetic, and the most meagre and injudicious Bible instruction, and the books used in the schools were ridiculously poor.

About ten years ago, my brother, Sir James P. Kay Shuttleworth, reformed the industrial school at Norwood, and accepted the situation of Secretary to the Privy Council on Education, and shortly afterwards he and Mr. Tufnell founded the first English normal college at Battersea. Since that time twelve normal colleges have been built—four others are in the course of completion—nineteen inspectors have been appointed —3226 schools have been opened to public inspection, —several thousand monitors have been trained—many schools have been furnished with parallel desks, rising one above another—many school-rooms have been well furnished with maps, books, and apparatus—many excellent school-books have been published—the subjects of instruction have been extended—many excellent school-buildings have been raised—people have begun to be ashamed of the "dame schools"—and as far as the amount of funds raised by voluntary efforts will allow, the country has, under the teaching and example

of the Committee of Council, improved the means for the education of the people.

All this has been effected, be it remembered, notwithstanding the opposition of some, the lukewarmness of others, the taunts of those who sneer at education, the fears and outcries of the religious parties, and the slanders of those who wished to make the education of the people a means of increasing their own influence and power. Nothing but an enthusiastic earnestness of purpose, and inflexible impartiality, has enabled the committee to succeed thus far.

But to enable us to advance any further, we must have improved and very greatly enlarged means. We want, in short, much more money. The ridiculous insufficiency of the funds at the command of the Committee of Council is apparent, when we consider what we have to do. The normal colleges, the schools, and, in fact, all parts of the organisation, by which we are to effect the education of the people, are languishing, and losing the greater part of their efficiency from want of funds. The annual funds of the Committee of Council *would not suffice for the education of Cheshire*, but they have to be sprinkled over the whole of England, Wales, and Scotland.

Moreover, the Committee of Council does not assist those districts which most need assistance; viz.

1. Those, which have either no school or not sufficient school room, and which are too poor to raise any parts of the necessary funds themselves.

2. Those, which are too ignorant or too careless to make any effort themselves.

3. Those, which are so divided between different religious parties as to be unable to make combined effort, however, small.

Now there are vast numbers of each of these three classes of cases, and none of these are assisted at all by the Committee of Council, and yet these are the very cases which more than any others stand in need of assistance.

And even in those cases, in which the Committee might, in accordance with its constitution and regulations, render assistance, its capability of doing so is confined within very narrow limits, owing to the absurdly small funds put at its disposition, amounting as they do to only 125,000*l.* per annum.

We want a system, which would create us at least twice as many schools, as we have at present; which would enable the towns to establish large schools containing each of them ten to fourteen teachers and class-rooms, where the children might be well classified, and assist instead of hindering one another's improvement; we want a system, which would enable us to pay our teachers so well, that we might hope to see men of ability entering the profession; which would enable us to support our normal colleges efficiently, to supply each of them with a sufficient number of professors, and to keep the students in them at least THREE years; which would enable us to inspect each school in the country several times a year, and to publish a *public* report once every year, on the progress of each teacher and school in every part of the country; *which would enable us to distribute copies of the report on each*

county among all the religious ministers, teachers, and magistrates of the county, in order to interest them all in the progress of the schools around them; which would enable us to furnish every school throughout the country with desks, forms, maps, books, all necessary apparatus, and with a good play-ground and garden; and though last, not least, *which would enable us to educate* GRATUITOUSLY *the children of all those poor, who cannot afford to pay any thing for the instruction of their offspring.*

The educational systems of the nations of Western Europe have enabled those countries to realise all these great objects. We, however, are still far removed from the attainment of this end. Surely it is not impossible for us to accomplish, what nations less rich and less active than ourselves have succeeded in effecting.

The *possibility* no one doubts. The only question to be solved is, by what means is this great end to be attained?

But difficult as the solution of the question, "How shall we effect the education of the people?" undoubtedly is, it would be the extreme of folly to imagine, that there is no solution of it, *but a revolution;* and that what Germany, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Austria have accomplished in times of social tranquillity, cannot be undertaken here, until, as in France and Switzerland, a social earthquake has levelled the obstructions to the settlement of this question. Still, though I believe that we want in England nothing but the will, and though I am convinced that it would be easy to carry out this great work of social reformation did that will exist, I freely

confess that I see no prospect of its being done, until the people accomplish it for themselves; as I see it opposed by the bigoted sectarianism of one party, by the ignorant hostility of a second, by the selfish ambition of a third, by the blind indifference of a fourth, and by the luke-warmness of even its real friends.

Let it not be thought, that I am at all desirous of superseding local efforts, or of taking the direction of the parochial schools out of the hand of local authorities; far otherwise: I only wish to see the local efforts aided, where without aid they are confessedly impotent, and a security given to the country, that some one shall provide for the wants of those localities, which cannot do anything for themselves.

Nor do I wish to interfere with the educational societies further than we now do, that is, by assisting them in every possible manner; by assisting the diocesan boards to realise their present desire to establish and support normal colleges, and by assisting the Church and the Dissenters to educate efficient teachers for their schools, and to provide an efficient system of inspection for them all. Government ought to give every possible guarantee to the different religious bodies, that it will not attempt in any way to undermine the influence, which they legitimately claim to exercise over the religious education of the people, whilst at the same time it should require sufficient guarantees, that the secular education of the people shall be properly attended to.

But whilst the church and the dissenting bodies both continue so suspicious of all government interference

whatever, what can we hope to do? Without the aid of Government, I have shown that the efforts to raise sufficient funds for the education of the people have always failed and must always fail, and that on the other hand, the government will always be crippled in its efforts to promote national education, if it does not act cordially with the religious bodies, and if it attempts to carry on the work alone. I sincerely hope, then, that it will not be thought by any, that I am desirous of undermining the influence of our clergy, or that I think the education of the country can be carried on without their most cordial co-operation. I fully agree with them, that the great end of all human education is to develop the religious character of mankind, and I cannot wonder, that they are suspicious of every public interference, which appears to overlook this great truth. But let them take great heed, that this suspicion is not carried too far, and that it is not expressed, when no cause for it exists; let them avoid exciting a belief, that their opposition does not proceed from this holy feeling, but that it is stimulated by the desire of raising their order, and increasing their political influence. If such a suspicion ever attaches itself to them, from that day the fall of the church will be sealed.

We stand on dangerous ground. We know not now how far the mine has been excavated. We know not how strong the enemy is; but certain it is that a spirit omnipotent for evil, a spirit of revolution, irreverence, irreligion, and recklessness, and, more dangerous than all, a spirit of unchecked, unguided, and licentious intelligence is abroad, which will be the most dangerous

enemy, with which Christianity has hitherto had to cope. Remember, that it is utterly impossible in these days to stop the rapidly unfolding intellect of the people, even if it were desirable, and that *uneducated* intellect is the worst enemy to the best interests of mankind. Cheap literature, which may be had for the asking, cheap postage, cheap and rapid communication between different districts, the continually increasing interest, which the people take in political transactions; the lessons, *the practical lessons*, they are daily receiving on the effects of combination, and the wholly unfettered exercise of thought and speech in this country, have utterly precluded the possibility of their remaining stupefied, and have ensured their *intellectual* advancement beyond a doubt. Cannot we, then, see the consequence of all this? If religious teachers are not found, and that soon, for this people, where will the church be fifty years hence? Where the French church was in 1796 — overthrown by an infidel multitude. Can any one think our social condition to be compared to that of Holland? Can any one look on, for the next half century without dismay? Are not the cause of religion, the cause of morality, the cause of social order, and the future prosperity of this country, all compromised, deeply compromised, by our present inaction?

And yet what are we doing? Behold us, in 1850, with one of the most pauperised, demoralised, and worst educated people in Europe; with the greatest accumulated masses in the world; with one of the most rapidly-increasing populations in the world; behold us, in 1850, developing our productive powers, giving the most tre-

mendous stimulus to our manufactures and our population — resolved to turn the North into one vast city — to collect there the labourers of the world, and to leave them without a religion! Not only are we fearfully careless of the best interest of our brethren, not only are we acting, as if we were ourselves convinced that our religion was a lie; but we are blind to the absolute necessities of the commonwealth. The very heathens would have laughed our policy to scorn. They all saw, that even if there were no God, it was necessary to invent one for the peace of mankind; they bound their people by religious formulas, wanting although these were of all true vitality; whilst we, in an age of the world when the intelligence of the multitude is advancing with giant strides, we stand still, saying to one another, it is impossible to do anything with our neighbours, for this party differs from one religious dogma we have started, and that party differs from another: each thus assuming for himself that perfection and that infallibility, which he scorns his neighbour for pretending to; whilst, alas! all are too ready to omit the inculcation of the weightier matters of the law — judgment, and justice, and mercy.

Moreover, the very genius of the Protestant religion requires, more than any other ever did, that its members should be educated, in order that they should be influenced by it. The different religions of the old world and the Roman Catholic religion have retained their hold upon the mind of the multitude by striking and affecting ceremonies, and by means of the senses have established their empire over the spirit of mankind.

But Protestantism has thrown aside almost all, and many forms of Protestantism have thrown aside all the ceremonies, which so strongly affected the mind of the unthinking people, and which so powerfully contributed, and in many countries at the present day still so very powerfully contribute, to excite a reverential and religious feeling among the ignorant; and we boast, that ours is not a religion merely of the feelings, but peculiarly one of the understanding. But do not Protestants perceive, that in order that an intellectual religion should affect the people, it is absolutely necessary, that their intellects should be fitted for the exercise, or that the religion will lose its hold upon them and be entirely neglected? What has contributed to the spread of many of the lowest kinds of dissent in this country? Simply because they have appealed to the *feelings* of the people. And so it will be, as long as we offer an intellectual and spiritual religion to a people incapable of reflection or of thought, and who cannot take any pleasure in a service, which to them appears cold, meaningless, and formal. In this way does the English Church contribute to the increase of the Ranters, the Mormonites, and all the wild and visionary enthusiasts, who have so great a hold upon the minds of the people in North Wales and in our manufacturing and mining districts, and who know right well, that a religion, which appeals to the feelings and passions is the only one which can have any influence over an ignorant multitude. It is impossible for the intellectual and unimaginative Protestantism of the English Church ever to affect the masses, until the masses are sufficiently

educated to dispense with all need of mental excitement, which they never will be able to do, until they can think. If, then, the Protestants of England are not willing to prepare the people for the reception of our pure and spiritual religion, and as there can be no doubt that some form of religion, even although erroneous, is better for mankind than the absence of all religion whatsoever, it surely would be better for us, if we had the ceremonial religion of the Romanists, with all its faults, capable, as it would be, of affecting and influencing an unthinking multitude, than the spiritual religion of the Protestants, requiring an educated mind for its reception, when the English Protestants have seemingly resolved they will not educate the people. Much better to have a faith for the people, although it be erroneous, than to have no faith at all.

Why is it, that in Protestant countries like England and America, where nearly all the poor above thirty years of age are wholly uneducated, we find so many of the very lowest forms of the expression of religious belief, as the Mormonites, the Ranters, &c., whilst in countries like Holland, Wirtemberg, and Baden, where the people have been fitted for the reception of a higher species of Protestantism, there is hardly anything analogous to these religious extravangancies? Why is it, too, that in Romanist countries, where an objective religion is given to the people — where the uneducated are not required to accept a religion requiring an educated mind, — why is it, that in these countries there is nothing like the extravagant religious enthusiasm, or the still more lamentable atheism, which is found existing among our poor?

The reason is, that in each case the governments have wisely judged, that it was of primary importance to the people and to the state, that the people should have a faith, and where that faith has not been one, like Romanism, suited to captivate the ignorant, but one, like Protestantism, fitted only for the educated, they have wisely educated their people, so as to fit them for its reception, not in a low and degraded form, but in its highest and purest spiritual development.

I repeat that the great majority of the people in the great towns of this kingdom have no religion. They are not fitted for the reception of Protestantism, or if they are so in a few cases, it is only for the reception of a corrupted and *corrupting* phase of it; and we have taken from them the only religion capable of influencing them in their present state.

How deeply, then, does it behove us, as true Protestants, and especially as members of a church boasting, and boasting truly, to offer to the people the purest and most beautiful form of Protestantism! but a form, whose very purity and freedom from the captivating errors, which have rendered other religions more influential on the ignorant poor, more urgently requires, that the people should be educated to accept it;—how deeply does it behove us, to be tenfold more diligent than Romanist countries, to prepare the people, by means of education, for the reception of its tenets. And yet, alas! Romanist countries have far outstripped us in the eagerness with which they are promoting the education of their people. They understand the signs of the times, but we have yet to learn them. Then, and not

till then, shall we understand the real necessities of the poor.

I cannot imagine anything more injurious to the clergy, more hostile to the influence they ought to possess over the people; I cannot imagine anything more certain to separate the people from them, than that it should be fancied for one moment, that they oppose government interference (after sufficient guarantees have been offered them that it is not intended to take the direction and surveillance of the moral and religious education of the people out of their hands,) merely from a vain desire to manage and direct the education of the people themselves, especially after they have given such proofs of their utter inability to raise a tithe of the funds necessary for such a purpose. They are doubtless the fit and proper guardians of the religion and the morality of the country, and they are only performing their high duty, when they oppose any measure, which may seem likely to undermine the religious and moral influence they ought to have; but let them be most careful they do not demand more. Let them take care that they do not reject the assistance of government, after having shown the country that they cannot raise one paltry half-million for the primary education of a nation of 16,000,000 souls. Far from thwarting government, it behoves them, *if* they can discern the signs of the times, to be the first to demand the co-operation of the state, and to confess their inability to carry on the education of the people without it, instead of appearing for one moment satisfied with, and still less venturing for one instant to vaunt, the miserably small progress that education has yet made.

First, then, let me again briefly state what we have to do, referring as proof of what I lay down here to the deeply interesting reports of her Majesty's inspectors.

I. We require twice as many schools as we at present possess; nor is this want confined to either towns or country, but is equally felt in each.

II. We require an annual provision for the payment not only of nearly all the teachers we at present have, but for all that we shall find it necessary to appoint for the education of our numerous and increasing population.

III. We require, as I have before shown, annual funds for the efficient support of at least forty-one normal colleges, for the education of teachers.

IV. We require, also, an annual outlay of 70,000*l.* on the support of an efficient body of inspectors; those for the church-schools being chosen from the ranks of the clergy, with the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities, and those for the schools of the Dissenters being chosen from among them, sufficient guarantees being at the same time given them, that no one shall be chosen, to whom they can honestly object.

First, then, how can we provide sufficient school-rooms for the population?

The present plan both of the government and the educational societies is, to wait until some locality provides about two-thirds of the necessary funds and applies for aid, and then to furnish the other third, requiring guarantees for the proper outlay of the money, as well as the right of inspecting the progress of the school. What is the consequence? There are many

districts, as the reports of the inspectors only too plainly show, where no one takes the least interest in the education of the young; so that no voluntary local efforts are ever likely to be made, and where, consequently, no assistance is ever likely to be given, and which remain at the present day wholly without schools or teachers;—there are many other districts where there is literally no one, who knows how to make an application, even if sufficient local funds could be raised, the population being wholly composed of small farmers and labourers, or of manufacturing operatives or miners;—and there are many other districts, where, although the clergy or ministers have succeeded in raising two-thirds of the funds necessary for one or two schools, they are *utterly* unable to raise more, and where several more schools are imperatively required; under this class will fall nearly all the larger towns of the kingdom, where, from the vast numbers of the poor, a great number of schools are required, and where it is utterly hopeless to raise sufficient funds from the few inhabitants of the district, who happen to understand the necessity of education. And though it may be answered, that the National Society has assisted several of these districts, even when local funds could not be raised, yet it requires no demonstration to show, how utterly incapable that society is to meet the disheartening deficiency in the manufacturing districts, with the ridiculously small funds at its disposal. Why, it would require at least a million of money to provide schools for the districts in the north, which are *now* unable or unwilling to do any thing for themselves, and are wholly

without, or very deficiently provided with, school-room, for the population.

Whenever we do resolve to undertake the education of the country, it will be necessary for government so to increase its force of inspectors, as to obtain information of the exact condition of the means for education in every parish throughout the kingdom. The state of the different parishes should, then, be ranged under the following heads: —

1. Parishes, which are already supplied with sufficient school-room.
2. Parishes, which have some school-room, but require more, and are able to provide what is wanted.
3. Parishes, which have some school-room, but require more, and are unable to provide what is wanted.
4. Parishes which have no school-room, but which are able to provide sufficient.
5. Parishes which have no school-room, and are not able to provide any.

Now, as I have already shown, and as the reports of the inspectors still more clearly show, there is no hope of anything being done in very many parishes capable of great local efforts, unless government requires it of them. As several of the inspectors show, over great tracts of country, there does not at present exist a single school. It is evident, therefore, that the present voluntary system cannot, with all our efforts, provide the country with schools, and that if we are to have them, *government must interfere and oblige each parish, as far*

as it is able, and assist it when unable to provide itself with sufficient school-room for its population.

In each parish, all tenants of houses, whose rent amounts, say to at least 10*l.* per annum, might be made liable to a certain rate, to be apportioned according to the wants of the parish and the number of the householders who are liable to the rate. Each of these householders might have a vote in the election of a committee of eight or ten members, for the administration of the educational expenditure of the parish. Of this committee, the clergy and the dissenting ministers ought to be, as in all European countries, the ex-officio members.

Before this committee, when elected, the inspector for the district should lay an account of the exact state of education in the parish, showing the quantity of school-room required for the population; where the required school or schools should be situated, so as best to suit the convenience of the poor of the parish, and also how many houses for teachers should be provided. The committee might then deliberate, whether it would supply the wants of the parish by mixed schools for the different religious sects, or by separate schools for each sect, and whether it would at once provide for all the schools required, or by the imposition of separate rates in separate years. At these deliberations the clergy, the dissenting ministers, and the inspectors should be entitled to assist, the latter, by affording all necessary information as to the exact wants of the district.

I am firmly of opinion, that were the government to OBLIGE each parish to provide itself with sufficient school-

room, and to leave it to the option of the several parishes, whether they would support separate or mixed schools, that there would be little difficulty. Wherever any one party was decidedly too small to establish a school for itself, it would concur in the arrangement for a mixed school. It is when government endeavours itself to decide upon it, that all parties are alarmed, and begin to suspect ulterior designs, and to fear the effects of a scheme, over which they have had no control. All that government should do, *is to oblige each parish, as far as it is able, to supply itself with sufficient school-room,* and to leave to its own decision the *manner,* in which this should be done. I am confirmed in my opinion that mixed schools would not be objected to, if the establishing of them were left to the inhabitants of the different parishes, by the experience I have had in the North, where I have frequently found schools expressly intended for the church, filled partly with the children of dissenters, who did not object in the least to their children remaining, even during the religious lessons given in the school. But whenever a power from without endeavours to force mixed schools upon a locality, then the clergy and the dissenting ministers, and many of the parents, begin to be alarmed. Of course government ought to require, when a school was established for two sects, and the schoolmaster was chosen from the most numerous sect, that the children should either attend the religious lessons given in the school, or should receive daily religious instruction from one of the ministers of their own sect.

In those cases where the committee could not agree

to provide a mixed school, and where the minority was too small to support a school for themselves, the majority should be obliged and empowered to levy the rate and build the school, on condition that the minority should be allowed to send their children to the secular instruction, and remove them during the religious instruction given in the school. We should soon find, that the minority would not object to their children attending the secular instruction given at the school, and receiving their religious instruction from their own minister. Many parishes, moreover, would require *several* schools, and in these cases the committee could easily arrange, if desired, that the schools should be appropriated to the different sects, according to their respective numbers.

Where a parish was not capable of doing more than it had already done, or of making any but very inefficient efforts, government ought to be prepared to give the necessary assistance, instead of confining its grants, as at present, to those parishes alone, which are able to raise a considerable part of the necessary funds. But in the poorest parishes, where several schools were required, the householders ought to be consulted, whether they wish to have *separate* or *mixed* schools.

These parish committees might be called on to meet at certain periods, to examine the state of the school-buildings, and to provide, by the levying of a small rate on the householders, for all the repairs required for all the schools and schoolmasters' houses in the parish; and when the population was increased so much, as to require another school, for the building of another school in the parish. The inspectors of the district would in-

form them of the exact wants of the parish. *It would be also wise to give these parish committees the power of requiring the attendance of all the children at school between certain ages, and of enforcing that attendance, whenever they saw fit to do so.* In many districts, the parochial authorities would not object to put this regulation into force, while government will be wholly unable for some time to enforce a general regulation of this kind. The people would not object to it, if it issued from themselves, although they would call it unwarrantable interference on the part of government. And although, doubtless, very many districts would not consent to enforce such a regulation for some years to come, yet it would be a great gain to the country, if the inspectors could induce *any* of the towns or parishes to make such a regulation. But, whether they would do so or not, yet a general encouragement would be given to parents to send their children, if the inspectors reported yearly to the committees the names of those parents who neglected this duty, and urged the members of the committees to use their influence with them in inducing them to allow their children to be educated.

The mere fact of the attention of their parish being directed to their negligence would induce many parents, who are now wholly careless about it, to promote the education of their children, by sending them to the parochial schools.

Another thing which might, with great advantage, be left to the decision of these parochial committees, would be the fixing of the amount of the weekly school fees. They would be better acquainted, than any other

persons, with the exact condition of the inhabitants of the parish, and with the sums they would be able to pay. A power ought, however, in all cases to be given to the clergy or dissenting ministers, in conjunction with the schoolmasters, to allow those children to attend the schools, whose parents were notably too poor to pay any part of the settled weekly fees, and in these cases, the parish committees should be required to pay the fees to the teacher out of the parochial school funds.

In all those cases where there was in a parish a national school, or a school belonging to some sect of the dissenters, and the numbers of the other sects in the parish were very small, the committee would inquire of the minister of the sect, to which the school belonged, whether he would allow the children of other religious denominations to attend the secular instruction given in the school. In very many cases, this would be done willingly, but where it was refused, the committee should, unless the numbers of the other sects were too small, be required to establish another school in the parish.

Where such permission was granted, then the parochial committee should be required to support such schools, and provide all the funds necessary for its repair, for the salaries of the teachers and for the necessary apparatus, &c.

But how should the teachers for these schools, and for all the schools in the country, henceforward be chosen? In the case of all schools at present established, directed by trustees, school societies, religious congregations, or private individuals, I would, of course, leave the selection of the teachers in the hands of the persons

in whom it is now vested, reserving for government, however, the right of examining by means of its inspectors the persons chosen, and the power of annulling the election, if the candidate was found upon examination to be unfitted for the exercise of his important duties. In the case of schools erected by the parochial authorities, the teachers should be always chosen, if the school was intended for only one sect, from that sect, by its school committee, and if for several sects, by the minister and members of the school committee, who belonged to the most numerous sect in the parish, subject, however, in every case to the approval of government. When we have a sufficient number of normal colleges, of course no person should be permitted to be a candidate for the situation of teacher, but one, who had been educated in such a college, and who had obtained a certificate from its director and professors of high moral character, and of satisfactory intellectual attainments.

It is very important that government should have the right of examining every candidate for the situation of a schoolmaster, and the power of rejecting him, if found upon examination unworthy of the situation. Until government is entrusted with this privilege, we shall always be liable, in the event of the trustees or managers of a school being careless, (which does and will constantly happen) to have men chosen, who not only are wholly unfitted by their want of any previous education, but who are capable of doing the greatest possible mischief to the children committed to their care, by their exceeding low moral character. I have seen men occupying the post of schoolmasters, who

had been elected by the managers or trustees of the schools, and who were positively doing a great moral injury to the children in their schools, and who were unfitted in every respect for their situations.

It is monstrous, that this should be even *possible*, much more that it should be of constant occurrence. But it is the necessary consequence of leaving the selection of the teachers to men burdened with other affairs, who have not sufficient time for a truly laborious and difficult duty, and who, in the generality of cases, are wholly unfit to be judges of the capability of any one for such a post. Imagine one of our country farmers choosing a schoolmaster! The very idea is absurd. And yet, I have seen farmers performing this responsible duty in their capacity of managers of country schools, attended by nearly one hundred children, and choosing men who were unworthy to be even the monitors in the lowest classes. Government need not interfere with the rights of trustees and managers, further than to require to be satisfied of the capability of the candidates, but so far it undoubtedly ought to interfere, making it the law of the land here, as it is in Holland, Prussia, Saxony, France, Hanover, Baden, Wirtemburg, Bavaria, Switzerland, and Austria, that no one should be allowed to be henceforward chosen, as teacher of a school for the poor, until the country had been satisfied of his capability of conducting the religious and secular instruction of a school. Every teacher should be required to obtain a certificate of high moral character from the director of the normal college at which he was educated; a certificate of capability to

conduct religious instruction of children from the clergyman or dissenting minister who directed the religious superintendence of the college, and a certificate of capability to conduct the secular instruction of children from the inspector of the district, in which he desired to be a teacher. By this means, followed universally abroad, we should raise the profession of teachers in the public estimation, we should secure a set of men of high character and qualifications for these important posts, and we should raise the standard of religious, moral, and secular education throughout the country.

II. We require an annual provision for the payment, not only of all the teachers we at present possess, but of all those we shall be obliged hereafter to appoint.

Each teacher ought to have a certain salary of at least 50*l.* per annum provided him, as well as a house and garden and the school-fees, which, however, as I have before mentioned, should be so limited by the parish authorities as not to prevent, any, but the very poorest parents, who were unable to pay anything, sending their children to school; and in the case of these parents, the clergy or dissenting ministers should have the power of admitting their children into the schools free of all expense, on ascertaining that their plea of poverty was a true one.

We must provide good situations for the teachers, or we shall never obtain well-educated teachers for the schools.

We should therefore be prepared to provide a salary of at least 50*l.* per annum for every teacher at present appointed to a school, on his presenting one certificate

from the clergyman or dissenting minister, who directs his school, of his religious and moral character, and of his capability of directing the religious education of his school; and another from the inspector of his district of his capability to conduct the secular instruction of his school. But no salary should be paid, unless these certificates were first obtained; and in the case of any teacher appointed in future, a third certificate of character should be required to be obtained from the director of the normal college, in which the candidate was educated. Where any school is endowed, the annual income settled on the teacher should be raised, where deficient, to 50*l.* per annum, on condition that he presented the above-mentioned certificates. But even where any school is so endowed, that the income secured to the teacher amounts to at least 50*l.* per annum, the government should demand the right of inspecting the school, and of having a veto on the appointment of any teacher in future.

The reports of the inspectors prove only too plainly, that the country can have no security against the negligence or ignorance of local authorities, until government has the *surveillance*—I do not say the direction, but the mere *surveillance*—of all the primary schools in the country, and a veto on the appointment *and dismissal* of all the teachers in the country. It is what all foreign countries, where education has made any progress, have granted their government, and it is what our government must have sooner or later. Until government has this direct influence on the choice and dismissal of the teachers, the education of the country,

left in the hands of careless local authorities, all engaged in other affairs, and having little time to look after the schools, will remain what it is at present—defective, unproductive of any satisfactory results, and in many cases positively hurtful and demoralising.

Of course out of our present schools there would be but few teachers, who would be able to obtain the necessary certificates of character and competence; and of the few respectable teachers we have, most of them are at least temporarily provided with sufficient salaries; so that the *immediate* provision required for this purpose would be comparatively very trifling. Now there are several ways in which this annual outlay might be provided, did we but take any real interest in the education of the people. But I confess that, as far as I am able to judge, one method appears to me to offer many advantages that no other does. I have in the course of the observations I have ventured to make on the state of the English poor pointed to the way in which the out-door expenditure of the Poor-Law Unions of England and Wales has been steadily and rapidly increasing. It is needless for me to remark how very much better it would be for the poor themselves, if this relief could be *gradually* withdrawn. The evil effects of a public charity of this kind, in the stimulus it gives to improvidence and carelessness among the poor, is now too generally admitted to need any notice from me. It is however impossible, as I have before observed, to withdraw this relief suddenly. We have, by our own neglect of the poor, fostered the growth of our present pauperism; cruel therefore, in the extreme,

would it be to *suddenly* withdraw the stimulant, which we have made necessary to the people. We have pauperised the people by our own ignorant sectarianism, so that we could not, in common justice, or in common humanity, deny them that relief, which we ourselves have rendered necessary.

But we can provide for the education of their children in habits of temperance and prudence, and having done this, we might then withdraw that relief, of which they would no longer stand in need. As I have before shown, the payment of the teachers at first would amount to a comparatively small sum. This sum I think the unions should be required to provide from the poor-rates. Each union should be required to *check the increase* of its expenditure in out-door relief, and to provide for the payment of such of its teachers as obtained the certificates mentioned above. The sums required for this purpose at first would be very small, and as they increased, the out-door relief might be slowly and gradually withdrawn in the same proportion; so that in fifteen years from this time, we might hope to have substituted the expenses required for the support of the teachers in places of honourable independence for a part of the present enormous expenditure on out-door relief. An auditor might be attached to each board of guardians for the purpose of managing the educational expenses of the union; and to this officer the inspector of the district might send information of the teachers whom he, in conjunction with the clergy and dissenting ministers, had deemed worthy of receiving their salaries from the union. Moreover, the unions

might be required to supply the school apparatus necessary for those schools, whose teachers had obtained the necessary certificates. Of the apparatus necessary for the use of the school, the clergyman or dissenting minister, who had the direction of the school, in conjunction with the schoolmaster and inspector, might decide; and on an application forwarded by them jointly, the union might be required to furnish the necessary outlay.

This plan would not interfere with private munificence or local benevolence, but it would always provide for the failure of those supplies, and it would secure to a good schoolmaster a sufficient and independent livelihood, so that he would be satisfied with his situation and would be able to devote his undivided attention to his duties.

Of course, as I have said before, government should, through its inspectors, require to have a veto on the dismissal as well as on the appointment of every teacher, so as to secure a worthy teacher from all risk of losing his situation through any mere caprice on the part of the local authorities who elected him. The annual expenditure in out-door relief is now about 3,000,000*l.* per annum, and the annual expenditure of the unions in the national education, supposing they supported the normal colleges, provided the incomes of the teachers and the apparatus for the schools, would not for many years amount to more than 2,000,000*l.* per annum, and would not amount to even that sum, until many of the present race of uneducated and low-minded teachers had become superannuated or had died at their posts.

If then, government were to limit the annual expenditure of the unions on out-door relief and on education to 3,500,000*l.*, never allowing them to exceed that expenditure, it is manifest, that the retrenchment of the out-door relief would be so very gradual, as scarcely to be felt, whilst it would not be superseded by the educational expenditure for many years, as population must have considerably increased ere, we should require 3,500,000*l.* per annum for the school apparatus and for the education and support of the teachers of this country, in addition to the present endowments and to the efforts of private benevolence.

There are two reasons, which point to the adoption of a plan such as the one I have very briefly and imperfectly sketched; one is, that we have the organisation necessary to obtain the local funds already provided — an organisation, moreover, admirably suited for the purpose, since it would interest the local authorities in the progress of the education of their localities, as they would not like to feel, that they were bearing such expenses and reaping no returns; another is, that it would not only tend to check the rapidly spreading pauperism of the country — by applying a remedy to the root of the evil; but it would also enforce the *very gradual* withdrawal of that out-door relief, which very greatly contributes to the spread of that disease which is threatening the very vitals of our commonwealth. I look on the withdrawal of this demoralizing expenditure as only second in importance to the education of the people. I believe this expenditure is demoralizing the poor. I am certain, from its effects on districts,

which have fallen under my own observation, that it is contributing very greatly to the pauperism, immorality, and degradation of our poor. I have seen it bestowed in the most careless and indiscriminate manner, as if it were intended to encourage to the utmost the spirit of improvidence, now, alas, so generally existing among the poor. I have known poor families (who, if they had not had this injurious benevolence to depend upon, would have provided in their prosperous days against the return of slack times,) living in a careless and profuse manner, whilst their prosperity lasted, without the least idea of providing against a return of adverse seasons, spending all their earnings in drink and good living, with no idea of providence or foresight, knowing that, however careless they were, it mattered little, as they could easily persuade the Union to assist them, if they should be overtaken by adversity. What can be worse than such a system? Can it be too strongly reprobated? Is it not offering a premium to improvidence, and a stimulant to pauperism? I can imagine no better plan of demoralising the country, than by continuing to dispense this false, injurious, and absurd charity in our present injudicious manner, and by confining our efforts to our present contemptible sham of national education.

III. We require, as I have before shown, annual funds for the efficient support of *at least* forty-one Normal Colleges for the education of teachers.

As I have mentioned in the last chapter, in several of the dioceses, attempts have been made to establish normal colleges, which have in great measure failed from

the want of sufficient funds. Until government comes forward, and assists the bishops and the Dissenters to carry out these laudable efforts, we shall continue without any sufficient supply of teachers fitted to carry out the education of the country. However great the deficiency of these training establishments for the Church, the Dissenters are still worse provided for in this respect. As I have shown, a public provision is set apart for the support of the normal establishments in each of the European countries, of which I have so often spoken, and the benevolence of private individuals is exercised in creating endowments for the education of poor but worthy aspirants to the teacher's ranks. This is a way in which private benevolence may be very beneficially encouraged; but certainly it is not right, that institutions of such great public importance as training establishments for teachers should be left dependent on such benevolence. Government should therefore be prepared to enable each diocese to support at least one good and efficient normal college for teachers for the schools of the Church, where the pupil-teachers should receive at least a *three* years' training, before they were permitted to undertake the management of a village or town school. But in addition to these, government should be prepared to provide for the support of a second normal college in the diocese of Bangor for the teachers of the schools of the Methodists in North Wales; of two others in the populous diocese of Manchester, one for the teachers of the Methodists and the other for the teachers of the Baptists and Independents; of another also in the dioceses of Lichfield and Coventry,

St. David and Durham, for the education of the teachers of the schools of the Dissenters in these populous districts; of two others in the populous diocese of York, one for the Methodists, and another for the Baptists and Independents; of four in the diocese of London, two for the Church and two for the Dissenters; of two in the diocese of Exeter, one for the Church and one for the Dissenters of Devonshire and Cornwall; and of two others in the diocese of Norwich, one for the Baptists and Independents, and another for the Methodists.

All the government normal colleges should be open to members of any religious sect, who would consent to observe the rules and regulations of the institution; and if any such entered a college set apart for a religious sect different to their own, they should be permitted to be absent from the religious lessons and exercises, on condition that they received regular religious instruction from some religious minister of their own sect.

The whole number of normal colleges required for the different dioceses would then be as follows: — (See next page.)

I will suppose that forty-one colleges for teachers would suffice for 17,000,000 inhabitants. The question then arises, how shall we provide for their support? Now the expenses of the normal colleges and of the annual payment of the teachers, together with the provision of the necessary school apparatus, would not amount, probably, to more than 2,000,000*l.* per annum for our present population. I should be prepared to throw the whole of this expenditure, together with that

Number of Normal Colleges for the Education of Teachers, which ought to be provided for England and Wales.

Diocese.	No. of Normal Colleges.	For what Sect intended.
St. Asaph - -	1	Church.
Bangor - - -	2	1 Church. 1 Methodists.
Bath and Wells -	1	Church.
Bristol - - -	1	—
Canterbury - -	1	—
Carlisle - - -	1	—
Chester - - -	1	Church.
Chichester - -	1	Church.
St. David - -	2	1 Church. 1 Congregationalists.
Durham - - -	2	1 Church. 1 Congregationalists.
Ely - - -	1	Church.
Exeter - - -	2	1 Church. 1 Dissenters.
Gloucester - -	1	Church.
Hereford - -	1	—
Landaff - - -	1	—
Litchfield and Coven-Coventry - -	2	1 Church. 1 Dissenters.
Lincoln - - -	1	Church.
London - - -	4	2 Church. 1 Methodists. 1 Congregationalists.
Manchester - -	3	1 Church. 1 Methodists. 1 Congregationalists.
Norwich - - -	3	1 Church. 1 Methodists. 1 Congregationalists.
Oxford - - -	1	Church.
Peterborough - -	1	—
Rochester - -	1	—
Salisbury - -	1	—
Winchester - -	1	—
Worcester - -	1	—
York - - -	3	1 Church. 1 Methodists. 1 Congregationalists.
Total -	41	28 for the Church. 13 for the Dissenters.

required for the support of the teachers, upon the unions, substituting it *gradually* for the greater part of the present expenditure of out-door relief, now given in the *encouragement of pauperism.* I would require all the Poor Law Unions, within the different dioceses, to provide the necessary sums for the building and support of the diocesan normal colleges. I would leave the normal colleges of the Church in the hands of the bishops, giving to them the appointment of the principals and professors, and only requiring for government the inspection of the colleges, and a veto on the appointment of the principals. So in like manner with the normal colleges for the Dissenters. Government should select the principals, in the case of the colleges for the Methodists, from the Methodists, and, in the case of the schools for the Congregationalists, from the most numerous of their sects in the diocese; and a requisition signed by a certain number of the ministers of the Methodists or of the Congregationalists should be able to annul the selection, which had been made by the government. In these cases also, government should, of course, require the right of inspection. I have not mentioned the normal colleges for female teachers, because I am willing to own that I see great difficulties in the way of the education of the schoolmistresses. But I think, supposing it is possible to educate efficient schoolmistresses in the same manner as we have commenced to educate the schoolmasters; I mean by selecting young girls of a religious character, and by placing them for three years in a training establishment, that a normal school for mistresses might be established in every two

or three dioceses, and the support of it be thrown upon all the unions in those dioceses.

I offer these suggestions with diffidence, knowing the extreme difficulty of the subject, of which I have ventured to treat, but feeling the deep importance of doing something, instead of leaving every thing to work its own way unchecked and unguided. It is impossible to educate the people without good teachers; it is impossible to obtain these, unless we have a sufficiency of training establishments; and it is impossible for us to retain them at their posts, when we have obtained them, unless we provide certain and sufficient salaries for them. Why then do we leave all these things undone? Is it that the country is not so able to bear the expenses of an educational system as Holland or Switzerland? Is it that an educational system is not so necessary for a country like ours, where the masses of poor are so great and so rapidly increasing, as for one, where their numbers are much smaller, and the rate of their increase much slower? or is it, that we do not care for the happiness or improvement of the people, and that we cannot see the evident tendency of events, with our present demoralised masses?

IV. We require a much greater number of inspectors. I have already said so much on this head, that little more remains to be noticed. I have already shown, that we require at least 150 inspectors; and I have also shown, that it is impossible to do anything, until we have ascertained, by their agency, the actual state of education throughout the country. On this point we are at present in the profoundest ignorance. We only

know *that we have not more than one-half the schools we require* for our population; but as to the exact wants of the different parishes throughout the kingdom, we know nothing. It behoves government, therefore, to examine this matter, and to increase its staff of inspectors in such a manner, as to enable it to obtain exact statistics of the state of education throughout the kingdom. The State has given the Church a veto on the appointment of the inspectors for the Church schools; it has also given the same security to the Dissenters, that no inspector shall be chosen to visit their schools, to whom they can object.

Let government only come forward and assist the ministers of religion, and let it continue to avoid any attempt to undermine their influence, or to take the entire direction of education into its own hands, and it will meet with no opposition; but, on the contrary, it will find among them the fullest appreciation of the necessity of education, and of the importance of the State's assisting the religious teachers in giving it to the nation. But as long as the State and the religious ministers exhibit so much distrust, the one of the other, nothing can be done; but that day will be advanced, when, after the turmoil of a fierce political strife, the people will create an educational system for themselves, and will reject the interference of the clergy altogether, having learned to associate their names with the idea of an unwillingness to advance their improvement; and the consequence will be, that an educational system will be established void of all religion, thoroughly atheistical and revolutionary in its tendency, and which

will completely overthrow all that influence, which it is most important, for the best interests of the people, that the clergy should have on the education of the nation.

Before I conclude, there is one other point, which I would shortly advert to, and that is the need of assistants for the masters. Every schoolmaster, having the care of more than fifty scholars, ought to have the assistance of *well-trained* monitors, capable of conducting the instruction of the younger children. The reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors will show this much better than anything I can say. Now we can never obtain the services of efficient monitors unless we pay them; for if they are not paid, they will always leave the school before they are old enough to be entrusted with the care of the junior classes. Very few children remain at school after attaining the age of twelve, and it is manifest that a child of twelve years old is not capable of being of much assistance to a schoolmaster. But if we paid the monitors of the village schools about as much as they could earn, if they went to work, we should be enabled to keep them much longer, and should provide useful assistants for the schoolmasters. Here would be an ample field for the exercise of private benevolence. Private individuals should be encouraged to provide small salaries for monitors in all schools, where the number of the children exceeded thirty. Moreover, another good result would ensue from this plan. We should in this way educate a number of candidates for the normal colleges, who would be admirably fitted to be trained as teachers, as their education would have all along prepared them for this life, would have accustomed

them to its arduous duties, and would thus have ensured their perseverance afterwards in the exercise of the toilsome duties of a profession, to which they had been accustomed from their earliest years. So let it not be said, that in throwing the maintenance of the schoolmasters upon the country, we should take away the means for the exercise of private charity, (I have heard this absurd argument used,) for we should then leave a field open for the exercise of that charity, so vast that all the efforts of the educational societies, and of all the benevolent individuals in the country, would not suffice to supply it.

The committee of council has attempted to enable the parochial schools to educate monitors; but its efforts in this respect, as in every other, are thwarted by the small amount of funds at its disposal.

With these few and imperfect suggestions I take my leave, for the present, of a subject on which I may not, perhaps, have offered valuable counsel, but in which I have long taken the profoundest interest. I hope, however valueless the observations I have made may be, that they will at least lead some to reflect on the rapidly unfolding of the democratic tendency of the times, and of the imperative necessity of providing beforehand for it. I would ask them to regard Europe, where nothing at all similar to our social condition exists, and to ask themselves, why it is that Prussia, Germany, France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, and even Austria, have judged it absolutely necessary to consider this great question so seriously; and then I would beg them to turn their gaze on our own land, and to ask themselves, whether it can be really true, that

with our social symptoms we are really so miserably provided with educational means as the reports of government would have us believe? Alas! it is only too true. Here, with our vast accumulated masses; with a population increasing by 1000 per diem; with an expenditure on abject pauperism, which in these days of our prosperity amounts to 5,000,000*l.* per annum; with a terrible deficiency in the numbers of our churches and of our clergy; with the most demoralising publications spread through the cottages of our operatives; with democratic ideas of the wildest kinds, and a knowledge of the power of union daily gaining ground among them; — here, too, where the poor have no stake whatever in the country; where there are no small properties; where the most frightful discrepancy exists between the richer and the poorer classes; where the poor fancy they have nothing to lose and every thing to gain from a revolution; here, too, where we are stimulating the rapid increase of our population by extending and steadying the base of our commercial greatness; where the majority of the operatives have no religion; where the national religion is one utterly unfitted to attract an uneducated people; where our very freedom is a danger, unless the people are taught to use and not to abuse it; — and here, too, where the aristocracy is richer and more powerful than that of any other country in the world, the *poor are more depressed, more pauperised, more numerous in comparison to the other classes, more irreligious, and very much worse educated than the poor of any other European nation, solely excepting Russia, Turkey, South Italy, Portugal, and Spain.*

Such a state of things cannot long continue.

TABLE I.

Showing the Proportion of Scholars in Elementary Schools, to the whole Population in different European Countries.

		Scholars.		Inhabitants.
Berne, Canton of Switzerland -	1843	1	in every	4·3
Thurgovie „ „ -	1837	1	„	4·8
Vaud „ „ -	1844	1	„	5
St. Gall „ „ -	1843	1	„	5·5
Argovie „ „ -	1843	1	„	5·5
Neuchatel „ „ -	1838	1	„	6
Lucerne „ „ -	1844	1	„	6
Schaffhouse „ „ -	1844	1	„	6
Geneva „ „ -	1844	1	„	6
Zurich „ „ -	1838	1	„	6·3
Fribourg „ „ -	1839	1	„	6·5
Solothurn „ „ -	1844	1	„	7
Saxony - - - -	1841	1	„	5
Six departments of France (each)	1843	1	„	6
Wirtemberg - - -	1838	1	„	6
Prussia - - - -	1838	1	„	6
Baden (Duchy) - - -	1838	1	„	6
Overyssel (Province of Holland) -	1838	1	„	6
Drenthe „ „ -	1838	1	„	6
Friesland „ „ -	1838	1	„	6·8
Tyrol - - - -	1843	1	„	7·5
Norway - - - -	1837	1	„	7
Denmark - - -	1834	1	„	7
Holland (generally) - -	1838	1	„	8
Bavaria - - - -	1831	1	„	8
Scotland - - - -	1842	1	„	8
Bohemia - - - -	1843	1	„	8·5
Austria Proper - - -	1843	1	„	9
France (generally) - -	1843	1	„	10·5
Belgium - - - -	1836	1	„	10·7
ENGLAND! - - -	1850	1	„	14

TABLE II.

Showing the comparative state of the Education of the Poor in several of the European Countries.

Name of Country.	Population.	Number of Normal Colleges for the Education of Teachers.	Number of Schools for the poor open to the inspection of Government.	Children of different religious sects educated together.	The Teachers supported in honourable and independent situations by Government.	No one but a person of high character and attainments ever allowed to be a Teacher.	The Government has a veto on the appointment of Teachers whose characters and attainments it does not think sufficiently high.	All children are *obliged* by law to attend School between the ages of seven and thirteen.	Government takes care that school-houses shall be provided for all the people.	The different religious sects unite in assisting Government to promote the education of the people.	All the parishes well supplied with school-room.
Wirtemberg	1,600,000	3	all the schools.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Bavaria	4,000,000	8	7,353	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Grand Duchy of Baden	1,335,200	3	1,971	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
France	34,000,000	92	59,838	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Denmark	2,100,000	5	4,600	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Hanover	1,700,000	6	3,428	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Holland	2,600,000	2	2,832	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Prussia	14,100,000	42	23,646	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Switzerland	2,200,000	13	all the schools.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Saxony	1,719,000	8	- -	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
England & Wales	17,000,000 population *rapidly* increasing.	only 12 worth mention !!	Not 4,000 !!	No !	No ! quite the contrary.	No ! quite the contrary.	No !	No !	No !	No ! quite the contrary.	No ! Great numbers of districts without any schools at all, or insufficiently supplied.

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